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JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER



JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER
About 1880

JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER

BY

FRANK ALLABEN

AUTHOR OF "THE ANCESTRY OF LEANDER HOWARD
CRALL," "CONCERNING GENEALOGIES," "THE ARMS
AND PEDIGREE OF KINGDON-GOULD," "THE ARMS AND
PEDIGREE OF SEYMOUR;" EDITOR OF "AMERICAN
GENTRY."

VOLUME II



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BOOK IV
LITERARY WORK

CHAPTER XXX

THE APPROACH OF WAR

Important as were the results of General de Peyster's active connection with the New York State troops, and of his services as Military Agent of the State, it was through his pen that his genius found its suited expression. His literary work as a military critic and historian is the great work of his life. His activities were turned into this channel partly because of disappointments experienced in his attempts to regenerate the New York Militia, but still more on account of ill-health, suffered during the greater part of his life, which disqualified him for the hardships of a soldier's career.

Finding that the political and military authorities of the State, unmoved by his enthusiasm, could not be induced to adopt suggestions looking toward the creation of a genuine soldiery, he entered upon a campaign of education. In 1850, and during the early winter and spring of 1851, articles by him appeared in the United Service Journal. "Staff Organization," "Headquarters Notices," "Origin of the Bayonet Rifle," "Staff and Artillery Organization," "Uniformity of Dress," "A Vidimus of the Military Force of the Principal European Powers," "Artillery Organization" and "Militia Organization" are some of the titles.

In the summer and fall of 1852, after his return from his first tour in Europe as Military Agent, additional articles were published in the United Service Journal, most of them suggested by the study of foreign military systems. One was upon "Rifles," another upon "The Prussian Needle Rifle." He also wrote on "Sardinia (Piedmont)," "Sweden," "Tunis and Tripoli," and to several issues contributed "Correspondence to Editor."

Returning, in May, 1853, from his second military tour abroad, and finding himself crippled for active field work by continued ill-health, with undaunted spirit he devoted himself more and more to writing. In August, 1853, appeared the first number of the *Eclaireur*, a monthly military journal founded by him, in association with Colonel Augustus T. Cowman. The death of Colonel Cowman, nominal editor of the first volume, from 1 August, 1853, to 1 August, 1854, occurred 12 September, 1854, when General de Peyster became editor. From the beginning he had been the financial support of the magazine, as well as its chief contributor. His editorship covered Volume II, from 1 September, 1854, to 1 August, 1855, and Volume III, from 1 August, 1855, to 1 August, 1856, together with some scattering numbers, down to August, 1858.

In 1853 and 1854 he contributed to it articles entitled, "Remarks on the Rank—Entire System of Cavalry," "Military Organization," "English Military Organization," "Cadres, etc.," "Gymnastics," "The Prussian, Berlin, Fire Extinguishing Establishment," "Prussia" (in two numbers), "The Russian Army," "The Swiss Military Penal Code and Judiciary" (in two numbers), "Russia" (in four numbers), "Gustavus II Adolphus, King of Sweden," "Leonard Torstenson," "Correspondence to Editor" (in three numbers), "Our National Armories," "A General," and "Uniform and Badges of Rank."

He published in the *Eclaireur* a number of important translations, including Von Hardegg's treatise on the Science of the General Staff, a considerable volume; the Bersaglieri Rifle Drill and Bayonet Exercises; and Von Hardegg's Chronological Tables of Military Science and History.

Some of General de Peyster's writings during the decade preceding the Civil War disclose an instinctive sense, if not a premonition, of the mighty storm about to burst upon the land. In his first military report he prophetically wrote of "that woeful day of which curious

patriots talk calmly, when, by a division of the Union, two or three rival nations put arms on their frontiers and accustom their people to taxes." Again he declared, "Although we do not need a nation of soldiers, we need such a number of those who really are so that we cannot be taken by surprise." "If we do not wish to pay foreign enemies for teaching us the art of war," he added, "we must learn it ourselves, and practice before they come;" and he warned against the danger of such a state of unreadiness that we "must wait until the end of the war until we are fit to oppose our enemies."

In his "Address to the Officers of the New York State Troops," 19 January, 1858, after speaking of the brilliant participation of raw militia in a number of the great decisive battles of history, he said: "If, then, militia have played such an important part in the world's history; if religion, civilization, freedom have hung upon their conduct, courage, fitness for the hour; does it not behoove militia, particularly in this country, this State—wherein we have no other armed force upon which to rely—to prepare themselves for the crisis every age presents?"

In the same address he urged the training of the New York Militia in connection with regulars and United States officers. The soundness of his view was demonstrated by the act that, during the Civil War, the training which he suggested as necessary had to be given to the Union armies, through their defeats, before they became competent to deal with the forces of secession.

"It is very doubtful," the General had written, "judging from what has transpired since our very first essays in arms, if there is any people in the world who so soon become soldiers as our own, and therefore it is a great pity, as we have one of the finest, if not the finest, military institutions in the world—West Point—that our State troops are not enabled to profit by the instruction imparted thereat, by being drilled, or partially commanded, or serving with troops drilled and commanded, by pupils of that wonderful Academy.

“The proposition for a camp of Regulars and State troops combined has been mooted more than once, but unfortunately never carried into execution.

“The non-formation of such a camp is by no means extraordinary to me, when we recollect that my proposition, while I was Adjutant-General, for the formation of a State Camp of Instruction—absolutely called for by law—met with opposition where it was least to be expected.

“The most experienced officers believe that the joint service of Regulars and Militia will do more to make soldiers of the latter than years of service, if the latter are left to themselves. The best Militia Regiments I have ever seen cannot divest themselves entirely of extraneous flourishes, whereas there can be no humbug about the exercises of the Regulars.

“The only country, however, that I know of, which renders such a conjunction of Militia and Regulars obligatory, is Holland—and in this, as in every other case, the Dutch government evinces exquisite practical judgment.

“Thus Militia learn their duty, and the Regulars acquire that enthusiasm—that martial rejuvenescence—which nothing but youth and a generous emulation can awaken.

“This principle, this tie, has more than once saved a cause and an army; and, fostered as it should be, between our Regular army and our Uniformed Militia, in case of sudden war, will save our country.”

These admonitions fell upon deaf ears, and the secession of the Southern States disclosed a condition of unpreparedness, on the part of the North, which necessitated scores of fruitless but frightful battles, with the sacrifice of thousands of lives, in order to weld our officers and soldiers into a military machine capable of grappling with the situation. Had General de Peyster's recommendations been followed, the transformation into a true soldiery of the militia of New York State alone would have furnished priceless regiments. Thrown

into the struggle upon the first call for volunteers, to secure a decisive victory instead of the rout at Bull Run, they might have changed the history of the war. But this was not to be. Providence decreed a life-and-death struggle, in order that the issues might be settled, once and forever.

Upon the termination of his active connection with the militia of New York, in 1856, General de Peyster published his "History of the Life of Leonard Torstenson," and the "Dutch (Hollander) Valaslavas." In 1857 he put forth "The United States Expedition against the Mormons," "The Dutch at the North Pole and the Dutch in Maine," and "The City of New York." His publications in 1858 include "History of Carausius, the Dutch Augustus," a work of three hundred and thirty-five pages, including an account of the Menappii, or ancient Dutch, "The Battle of the Sound or Baltic," "An Address to the Officers of the New York State Troops," "The Writers of Piedmont," and "Proofs Considered on the Early Settlement of Arcadie by the Dutch."

To the *Eclaircur* of 1855 and 1856 he contributed the following articles: "The Battle of Aughrim," "Remarks on Uniform," "Heavy Field Batteries," "English Uniforms," "White Cross Belts," "The Vicissitudes of a Turkish Functionary's Career," "Sketches of Distinguished Military Men: Leonard Torstenson, Iskender-Bey, Ismail Pacha," "A Fearful Tragedy," "Lying Bulletins—Military Despatches," "Gasconading (Havana)," "England and the United States," "New Cap for the United States Army," "The Portland (Maine) Liquor Riot," "A Letter on Forbes' Volunteer's Manual," and "Synopsis of the Commands Requisite for the Manœuvres and Movements Detailed in Part I, Cooper's Tactics."

The progress of the Italian War of 1859, between France and Sardinia on the one side, and Austria on the other, General de Peyster commented upon in a series of sketches. His familiarity with the scene, and with the

military condition and strength of the combatants, gained by extensive reading, and by personal researches abroad when Military Agent, enabled him to make the conflict intelligible to the American public and even to predict the course of events. His articles included "The Ground Occupied by the European Armies," "The Country of the War," "Italian Battle Grounds," "Sardinia," "The Lombard War Rivers, Cremona—Battle Grounds Along the Mincio," and "Piedmontese Territory" (two articles).

The following, among other articles from his pen, appeared prior to the Civil War: "Artillery Improvements," 1859; "Evolutions of the Line by Battalions," "Discipline," "The Invincible Armada," "Simon Stevin of Bruges," "Ho! for the Pole!" and "Cape Cod and Its Neighborhood," all published in 1860.

A copy of General de Peyster's *Life of Torstenson* was sent to Oscar I. of Sweden and Norway. Count Eric de Lewenhaupt, private secretary to His Majesty, acknowledged the gift in a letter to General de Peyster, dated from Stockholm, 22 December, 1856, in which he said, "The King has ordered me to express the high gratification afforded to His Royal Majesty by receiving your work, and to offer you, as a token of his appreciation of the sentiments which dictated your homage, the hereby joined collection of medals, with the effigies of the great Gustavus Adolphus, of Charles XIV., John and of his august son, King Oscar."

Meantime, with the greatest apprehension, General de Peyster had been watching the gathering of war clouds above our own country. "Ever since the election of 1856," he writes in his reminiscences, "I saw the collision in arms coming." To the very last others, to whom he addressed his fears, were optimistic, as the following from a letter of one of his intimate friends, Rev. R. W. Oliver, bears witness:

"Your views of our political affairs, and of J. Buchanan in particular, are but too true. Alas, had we only an old woman at the head of the Government she would not have entered into a treaty with rebels, and

suffered them to rob, plunder, and bully the Government.

“Still I look for a peaceful solution of the whole matter, and I confess I fear more a hasty compromise than all the war, blood, and thunder threatened by the rebels to our peace and to the Government. Time will soon tell the tale. I go as Chaplain on Friday to Harrisburg, where I hope to see the President Elect.”

General de Peyster, however, had already suggested to the authorities at Albany an immediate re-organization of the Militia of New York as a preparatory move. The following letter to him from Colonel Abraham Van Vechten, dated at Albany, 5 February, 1861, shows that even as late as that date the General's warnings remained unheeded.

“Nothing can of course be done upon the matter of organizing the Militia until the Legislature takes some action upon it. They will doubtless do something, but what, it is as yet difficult to say. My idea is to vest the whole power with the Governor. A short, simple bill will answer the purpose.

“When the time arrives your aid and assistance will, I know, be gladly received. Until then there is no necessity of your doing anything. The Governor, when vested with the power, will advise and consult with military men, and then is the time for the service of men like you to be called into requisition.”

A letter to General de Peyster dated 19 April, 1861, from William P. Wainwright, who long had been a regimental commander in the former's Brigade of the Militia, shows that in less than a week after the firing upon Fort Sumter General de Peyster was actively engaged in movements looking to the raising of volunteers to support the national government.

“It is my intention to report myself for service at the Adg't Gen'l's office. I have no particular desire to be ordered out, but, as we all are, am ready. At the same time I think I might aspire at least to the rank of Major.

“In further answer to your kind proposition that I should take a command in your Brigade, it would give

me the greatest pleasure to do so were you to be on duty in this city, but, besides the inconvenience of absenting myself from home, the expense is a very material consideration with me. At the same time any assistance I can well render you know will be more than willingly given.

“It seems to me that with your health any exposed service would be out of the question and your proposition seems an excellent one. It will cost you something, but if you can get a *cadre* ready in your district under the direction of the Government it will be just the thing, either as a school for others or the basis of a contingent.”

CHAPTER XXXI

PROFFER OF SERVICES

Unfortunately General de Peyster never completed his project of writing an autobiography. In addition to his early recollections, and a few brief and scattered references to other periods of his life which have been incorporated in the present work, his reminiscences only include an account of the offer of his services to the General Government, during the Civil War, and of the military careers of his three sons. The events recorded in these personal recollections have such a direct bearing upon his literary work that they are given in this place. The present chapter, therefore, is devoted to the personal narrative of General de Peyster.

I never was an Abolitionist, but I was always an Anti-slavery man. Washington Hunt was the only politician I ever knew who fully appreciated the evil, perceived the true remedy, and indicated it. In 1859, when John Brown invaded Virginia, I was one of the few men who dared to come out in the newspapers and take his part; one of my articles appeared in the *Evening Post*; this, too, at a time when it was somewhat risky to take such a stand; and previously I had been one of the few militia officers of rank who had publicly announced that I would not assist in enforcing the "fugitive slave law."

In 1856 the Solid South had made up their minds to inaugurate a civil war, in case that Fremont was elected, and in 1860, with Slavery as the cornerstone of their projected sovereignty, they precipitated the Civil War.

Perhaps it was the intention of Providence, Who always accomplishes His ends through natural causes and by human instruments, to render the result certain by permitting the election of Buchanan.

My recollections of April, 1861, and antecedent, are very vivid. All through the winter of 1860-1861 thinking men had arrived at the solemn conviction that the matter was never going to be settled by words—it was no longer a question for statesmen, but for soldiers. I remember making my calculations, in regard to men and money for the struggle, in December, 1860.

At a dinner at the house of General W. P. Wainwright, in the winter of 1860-1861, Senator James W. Beekman (since dead) agreed with me in an opinion—afterwards expressed by General Sherman, for utterance of which he was said to be mad—that it was absolute folly to think of putting less than two hundred thousand men in the field at once, because we were going to have a war, and a long war, and perhaps a war at our own doors. In only one idea was I mistaken throughout the Rebellion. I feared the Democrats would give us trouble at the North. I did not think that Democrats would parley as they did, and be transmuted from bellowers into Copperheads.

I was at "Rose Hill," my place in Dutchess County, when the Massachusetts Sixth was basely entrapped in Baltimore, and I never shall forget that night. My brother-in-law came over from our father-in-law's residence, in the darkness, entered my dining-room, set down his lantern, closed the door, put his back against it with horror on his face, and whispered in one of those whispers which are more distinct than loud talking, "They have been murdering our soldiers in the streets of Baltimore, and all communication with Washington is cut off."

As soon as Sumter was fired on, I went to Albany, saw Governor Morgan, and asked to be appointed or selected as brigadier-general from this State. I offered to show him the magnificent testimonials of what I had done as Adjutant-General, and since my visit to Europe. He was very polite to me, as he always was, but he gave me no satisfaction.

Kearny was treated in the same way, and that drove him to New Jersey, which willingly accepted him. I had no New Jersey to fly to, and, moreover, I was subject

to terrible hemorrhages, from which, at times, until within three years, I have almost bled to death. The doctors, first class, told me that if I took the field, I had only one chance out of ten to survive the exposure, unless I got the rank of General and a position where I could take some care of myself. All these doctors, younger and older than myself, are in their graves.

Repulsed at Albany, I went to New York, and offered three picked regiments from my district to the committee to which applicants were referred.

Thurlow Weed received me. James H. Wood, a lawyer of standing, was with me. I told Weed I could raise three regiments in my Congressional district, officered by men of first-rate military capacity (two afterwards rose to be brigadier-generals), with a rank and file of unusual trustworthiness. Weed answered and acted like a fool. He said, "Shoulder a musket and go to the front." "Mr. Weed," I replied, "if I had no claims for the rank which I demand—and I have testimonials enough to entitle to any command I might ask—I have hardly strength to carry my bones, much less a musket. Mr. Bowdoin, a West Point graduate, told me to mention his name, and say to you from him, that if you did not mind what you were about, the Pelicans (Louisiana troops) would be shaking their tails over New York from Weehawken Heights." All that I could get out of that old political fox was, "Shoulder your musket—go to the front."

I left him disgusted. I went to Washington. Senator Harris said he would take me to see the President. I asked George Schuyler what dress I should wear. He said, "Full-dress dinner costume, as due to the head of the nation, a white choker, swallow-tail," &c. I believe that dress ruined me—as a wise man observed, "I should think it might have done so with Lincoln."

I offered the President three picked regiments. He answered, "I have enough troops." I said, "If you do not want privates, I offer you a number of officers, whose superiors West Point cannot produce." "I have more officers than I know what to do with." "Will you take

me? With my experience and study I am worth a thousand such as you can pick up at random." "That demands consideration." "What do you mean?" I asked.

Lincoln said something that made me believe he intended to refer my case to Seward. I almost hated Seward for some things he had done, and when I was made Adjutant-General, S. N. Y., the only stipulation that Governor Clark made with me was that I should not abuse Seward, for Seward was up for reëlection as Senator, and I was a friend of Hunt's. So I said to Lincoln, "If you intend to submit my case to Seward, I want nothing to do with him. Please give me your decision on the merits of the case." "I will make no promise," said he. "I once made a promise of a frigate, and when the time came I could not cut it in two, and so I got myself in a hobble." I did not understand this little story for four years. It referred to the Powhattan or Brooklyn, which was intended for the relief of Fort Sumter, and switched off for the relief of Fort Pickens.

At this juncture Senator Harris made me a sign I was wasting time. I bowed and left Lincoln, as I had left Weed, and I never saw him again to speak to him. I saw him elsewhere, and I thought less of him; but if he were more than a man, then I have known men, like George H. Thomas, who were gods.

When I got back to Willard's I met General Mansfield, who, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, was not only an acquaintance but a friend. To him I related my interview with Lincoln. He simply remarked, "If Lincoln talked in that way, Jeff Davis some day will be warming his chair for him." Heintzelman and others, at different times, expressed the same opinion.

I think Lincoln was the most uncouth man, in 1861, and had the longest legs, and was the ugliest man, but one, that I ever saw. The second time I beheld him I was standing at the side door of Willard's, talking, I think, to McDowell, or to one of his staff. It was just before Bull Run. Lincoln drove up to the sidewalk, and wanted to speak to McDowell. He was in a victoria,

and a lady, I suppose it was Mrs. Lincoln, sat on the side next the curb. Lincoln stood up. Oh, how tall and gaunt he looked! He lifted up one of his long legs, stuck it over the lady, and planted his foot—such a foot!—on the sidewalk, as if it were no exertion, with one hand outstretched, at the same time, to grasp that of McDowell, who, in his jaunty uniform and ease of bearing, presented a marked contrast.

I knew one man uglier than Lincoln.

I came home; the summer passed away. All that I foretold had come true. As I stood on Arlington Heights, as the troops marched out, I prefigured the loss of that battle. I said, "These troops will be put in by regiments, and by regiments they will be whipped." And so they were; McDowell afterwards acknowledged that I was right.

In the fall of 1861 our Rector came to me one day and said, "Are you doing right? You have great military knowledge. Do you think that you ought to be sitting at home, when your country is in danger and wants such men as you?"

I went on to Washington, and saw McClellan. He said my reputation was sufficient for the rank and command I was seeking. He made an appointment for next morning, and broke it, to disgrace himself, as a real soldier, by allowing Blenker's torchlight procession—a whole division withdrawing from the touch of the enemy for such a childish demonstration, fit for a militia general training.

Pride is my besetting sin; I flounced off to Scott, Assistant Secretary of War. He was very polite and sensible, but referred me to Cameron. I waited all day to see Cameron; when we met, he told me a falsehood. Friends advised me to see Lincoln again.

I could tell some queer things. I have justification for recording what follows, for I have the attest, in writing, of a friend, since dead in the saddest manner, like Abner—one who had familiar access to the President at all times. Lincoln wanted to make me Chief of his

Personal Staff. I have some reason to believe Hitchcock or Halleck, especially, smashed that; some people said my temper was an obstacle. All who know about it are dead. However, my word is all sufficient, as well as my manuscripts and records, carefully stowed away. I got very angry, which was very foolish, and left Washington. I never had anything more to do with the war, except by influence and speaking. Worry brought on hemorrhage, and I lost about as much blood every day as I could make up in a day.

Two men, or a man and a youth, who used to get up the back stairs to Lincoln offered to take me in to him. I do not like to be snubbed. I was disgusted and angry—very foolish; I shook off from my feet the dust of Washington, and I have been there since but once in twenty-four years, to ask anything, and that was for a friend, and then and there, I guess, the Secretary will admit he never met a more stiff-necked individual than I was. I spoke my mind, and he heard things which very few Secretaries hear. He was a perverse, nasty-tempered fellow, and he got as good as he gave—as did Stanton once, by a letter from me, which recoiled against my poor eldest son. I wrote what amounted to saying I would see Stanton to ——— before I would humble myself to him, and, mean as he was in vindictiveness, sometimes he visited it, I have reason to believe, on my eldest son.

My second son, Frederic, was a medical student, admitted to be, by every officer who knew him, one of the coolest of brave men, who did not seem to know what fear was. He wanted to go at once, in April or May, 1861, and as there were none but militia regiments starting, Governor Morgan gave him a sort of assistant surgeon's commission, and he started off with a handbag to join the 8th New York Militia. I sent him his uniform and other traps afterwards, and finally his horse, and I think he was the only officer in his regiment who had a horse of his own. He was with Butler, with one wing of the 8th New York Militia and one wing of a

Massachusetts regiment, when they captured Baltimore, which ought to have been levelled with the ground, for I conceive it more meanly disloyal than Charleston, then and now.

He was left behind, through the meanness of his colonel (a tailor), who had had a quarrel with my uncle (James), and visited his spite on my son (Fred). He left him in charge of the depot of sick at Arlington House, when the regiment marched thence to Bull Run. I was there, and was by when McDowell held his last council of war, and also when the regiment marched out. One of his division generals, Heintzelman, was a great friend of mine, and another, Tyler, was the father-in-law of an intimate friend.

Mrs. McDowell used to come over to Arlington House and sit in her husband's tent and knit; and I remember well what McDowell said to me about his militia regiments. I was urging him to give my son (Fred) a decided *status* as an officer, since he had the proper State commission, and was mustered in as hospital steward so as to get mustered in at all, because there were already more surgeons, senior to him, attached to the regiment, than the United States would pay, and he had to take that position to get mustered in at all. "Oh," said McDowell, "these militia regiments are nothing more than clubs, who wear a uniform and carry arms. He will get on well enough, and be treated as an officer." And so he was.

This was how Fred wore his surgeon's uniform, messed with the surgeons, and before he came home, had full medical charge of the regiment, for all his seniors were taken prisoners.

Well, when the regiment marched out for Bull Run, Fred was left behind, although he was the only one who had a horse of his own. The other surgeons had not. I shall never forget the start. His three seniors went off in a magnificent coach, like an omnibus translated into an impromptu ambulance, drawn by four horses, driven from the box. It was a grand affair. Before

they started I went to Dr. Foster Swift, a common friend, and told him how meanly the tailor-colonel had treated Fred. He thought the world of Fred, who was a charming fellow, and he said, "Do not worry, I will arrange all that; I have left orders for Fred to follow to-morrow morning," which Fred did, and so distinguished himself that, on the representation of General Blenker, a surgeon (Williams) belonging to a Maine regiment, and a major (afterwards Gen. Wainwright), then of the 29th New York Volunteers, Fred was breveted up to Major for his gallantry and meritorious services at the close of that disastrous day and on the ensuing night. One of our governors, on learning the facts, afterwards, gave him a State-brevet of Colonel.

Fred was subject to distressing attacks, and he was unable to return to the field. Officers who knew him and his gallantry, offered him very important positions. In 1862, when his regiment went to the Peninsula, he was at Tivoli. Governor Morgan gave him a commission in the line, because there were as many surgeons already as the government would receive. I went down to Fort Monroe to see Fred, and found him serving as assistant-surgeon, and very sick with the malarial fever of that region, from which he never recovered. He came home, sick with the Chickahominy fever, which turned into consumption, to which all my race are prone, and he eventually died of it.

The senior surgeon (not then Swift) came to grief. He was a nice fellow, but unequal to the place, and the second doctor was a crank who believed that turpentine was a universal panacea.

Fred had a curious experience. He served as doctor, and he served in the line. He was sent as surgeon to a French regiment, called the "Lost Children," because he could speak French. Taken all in all, it was a queer kind of a service. He came home sick, and never, as to health, was subsequently strong enough for any exposure. Different officers wanted to get him, but he was played out.

All three of my boys came near losing their lives by this fever. My eldest son had it in 1862, on the Peninsular, and for two months battled with death; and my youngest son had it in 1864, and it was eighteen years before he recovered from the effects of it.

I think Fred was the coolest brave man I ever knew. He died by inches. He would rise in the morning from a hemorrhage, which would nearly fill a basin, to go out and drive twelve or fourteen miles in the afternoon. He was chatting pleasantly, got up, walked across the room, lay down, and was dead before I could get across the hall.

I was a great deal in the camps across the Potomac, and all through the country occupied by our troops—out as far as the outer pickets towards the enemy—and was always accosted and treated as a general by all the officers with whom I came in contact. I came very near being captured, in chasing my son's horse (which got loose) in the woods near Arlington Mills, occupied by a detachment of the 8th New York Militia, of which my son had medical charge.

The Eighth had a jolly time in their elegant camp, under the trees near Arlington House. The weather was perfectly lovely when I was down there, in the latter part of the spring and during the summer of 1861. I saw a great deal of Hooker, with whom I was most intimate, and from whom I have the most complimentary letters. He was then seeking a commission and command. Then he was one of the most modest and retiring of men, and most agreeable and instructive of companions, brimful of his Mexican service and Californian adventures. I never shall forget a dinner, *al fresco*, we had in the camp. It was cooked at Willard's—an elegant collation—and eaten in the open air, under the magnificent trees on Arlington Heights. It was a glorious Sunday. War as yet was a picnic.

It was curious how Varian's Battery slaughtered their beeves. A crowd of men would take hold of a rope, fastened to each horn of the animal, to keep the head

steady, and then the forehead of the ox would become a target for the best rifle shots. I must say that Lyon, the tailor-colonel of the Eighth, was an excellent drill-master, and the discipline of his regiment in camp was perfect.

I was intimate with McDowell. I have remarked that when the troops marched out to Bull Run, I said, "There goes an army which will be put in and fought by regiments, and by regiments it will be whipped," and so it was. McDowell was one of the most thoroughly educated and accomplished theoretic soldiers I ever met. He could describe a battle, which he had witnessed, so as to make it vividly present; but he had no influence or power over his men, and he was so intensely selfish that it stuck out all over him, so that you could hang your hat and coat on it in a hundred different places.

I said to him one day, "McDowell, with your infinite knowledge of war, why do you not get your regiments together and accustom them to each other, and manœuvre them by brigades and divisions?" He answered, "You are right, but the authorities would not allow me to do so. I have urged it again and again, but Lincoln will not permit it." He added something to the effect that if the Members of Congress saw so many men as a division together, they would think that such a body of troops were enough to conquer the universe, and never raise or call out another man or vote another dollar. So he had to fool Congress, and thus, in the end, he fooled himself.

I remember one night I was in Willard's barroom, and they were talking of the first war appropriation as if it were so big it was going to ruin the country. I said, "Gentlemen, do you know what war costs? To keep one hundred thousand men in the field for one year will require one hundred millions of dollars." My dear old friend, Colonel Van Vechten, whispered, "Don't be a damned fool, de Peyster," and dragged me out into the adjoining room, to save me, as he imagined, from making a fool of myself.

When there, I said, "I will show you in a few words that I am right. It is admitted that every regular soldier in the United States Army costs the government one thousand dollars a year. Multiply that by one hundred thousand, and add the wear and tear of actual campaigning, and you will see that my estimate of the cost of war was modest." I said more, and asked him, "Who is the damned fool now? Let me go back and demonstrate the facts to your friends, and prove that I am no fool." "For God's sake, don't do it," he exclaimed, "for if you can make it clear to them that you are right, the expense will so frighten them that they will throw the matter up, and there will be an end of it."

Heintzelman was an excellent officer and a fearless soldier. He was so overshadowed by the enormous reputations of Kearny and Hooker that the public did not estimate him at his true worth. Moreover, he was a patriot and a true man. Unfortunately for himself, he talked too openly and criticised too severely, and the real lustre of his star was lost in the factitious blaze of McClellan and his satellites. He was in close correspondence with me, down to the time of his death. Diogenes would have ended his quest, with him, and no longer have needed a lantern, for in Heintzelman he would have found what he was seeking—an honest man.

My eldest son, Watts, went to the war in the early spring, or rather late winter of 1861-2. I did not wish him to go, because his temper was unfitted, without discipline, to get along with men. Fred's courage was the calmness of ice; that of Watts, fire. The bravest of men, like Kearny, said that Watts was as "brave as they make them," but, like myself, he had no conciliation. With him, "must" covered everything, and that did not do with our first armies, the mass of the components of which understood about as much of the real signification of discipline and duty as the Jewish rabbis used to say that "a jackass had capacity to mount a ladder."

I might justly observe that Watts ran away from home,

and the first thing I knew he was a volunteer-aide to his cousin, General Kearny. He was with Kearny up to the battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, when the General sent him home, because he said that he would not allow a young man, so brave and capable, to risk his life as freely as Watts did without an adequate commission. General Mindil, Colonel Moore, and a number of officers who saw him on the field of Williamsburg, said that his devotion, bravery, and self-forgetfulness were beyond all praise.

Meanwhile I had been at Albany, trying to get a position worthy of him. Several commissions were offered, but I thought he was fit for higher posts. An old newspaper correspondent, Colonel James B. Swain, had raised a regiment of cavalry, known as "Scott's Nine Hundred," afterwards the Thirteenth New York Cavalry, which was a bone of contention between the general and State governments. He offered Watts a company, but when my son joined, he kept the word of promise to the ear and broke it to the hope. He did give Watts a company, but with the rank of First-Lieutenant commanding. General de Cesnola, who, by the way, never was breveted or commissioned general, was lieutenant-colonel. He and his superior did not agree. The colonel unjustly came to grief, and it was questionable if the regiment would be received, after all the trouble of its organization.

At this juncture a majority in the First New York Artillery fell vacant; Watts understood the service. He had learned his business with me and other competent officers. Governor Morgan gave him the commission, and he joined the army in the summer of 1862, when McClellan changed his base to the James, and he was assigned to the Staff of General Peck, who wrote me an elegant letter about him. Although only in his twenty-first year, having studied for law, Watts was temporarily assigned to judge-advocate's duty. During his leisure time Watts translated from the French Decker's famous "Tactics of the Three Arms." This, with others of his works of a literary and military character, went to

the bottom of the James by the sinking of the vessel in which his baggage was embarked.

From the James, Watts was sent back to Albany on business connected with his regiment. From that city he came to my house, at Tivoli, on a visit, and within twenty-four hours was in his bed with a fearful attack of James river fever, with which for months he was battling for life. Before he was fit for duty he was ordered on recruiting service to the depot in New York, a position for which his character entirely unfitted him. During the winter he was ordered to General Albon P. Howe, as Chief of Artillery, 2d Division, 6th Corps.

Howe's testimonials as to the ability and bravery of Watts cannot be surpassed in the English language. For his conduct at Chancellorsville, on the recommendation of Hooker, a superlative judge of gallantry, Watts received the brevet of colonel, one of the few granted for services in this battle. Completely broken in health, he commanded his artillery in that battle, against the prohibitions of the surgeons, and experienced an injury to the brain by the concussion of a shell, or solid shot, or some other missile. His temper, always quick, was very much excited by the casualty.

He was in command of a division of heavy artillery on the way to Gettysburg, when, on account of the condition of the bridges, he was ordered back to Washington. I am told he greatly distinguished himself by his practical management in the removal of heavy guns from Harper's Ferry. Of this, however, I have no certain accounts, because all his papers, a valuable library, and a collection of scientific instruments, besides other inestimable valuables stored in it, were consumed in the burning of a beautiful Gothic cottage, my old lodge. In two hours there was nothing left—nothing but a heap of brick and stone, and about a cartload of charred oak timber. In this building was burned my own invaluable dog.

About the time he came of age, or shortly after, Watts was in command of seven batteries of artillery.

At Washington Watts was placed second in command under a colonel from Rhode Island, who has been represented to me as a coarse and overbearing man. He insulted Watts, Watts struck him, and Stanton, as I shall always believe, thinking it was me instead of Watts, summarily dismissed him. He was eventually restored, but meanwhile his mind had been affected by the injury he received at Chancellorsville, and although I sent him to Europe, and all around the globe, in hopes of his recovery, he got no better, consumption set in, and he died.

A particular friend of mine, who had the run of the White House, went to Lincoln to get the reversal of my son's dismissal. Lincoln answered, "I know, by report, of the patriotism of the young man's father, and of his own gallantry, but I can't do it right off. If I was to pardon that young man, for striking his superior for using bad language to him, one-half the officers in the Army of the Potomac would be caning the other half before to-morrow night. Come back to me in six months and I will make it all right." Before six months, Watts was in such a condition that his life was about ended, as far as regarded health or happiness.

My youngest son, Johnston, was at the Highland Military College, Newburg, an institution established on West Point principles, in 1861. He was fifteen in June of that year. He was a pretty hard colt to manage, and wanted to run away and join the army. I succeeded in keeping him home until the summer of 1862, when he quit school, and raised a company for a regiment being organized in my district. Although I never urged a human being to go to the war, after the government twice refused me, I paid ten dollars apiece to each man who signed my son's muster roll. After the company was raised, Johnston was cheated out of it by a fellow who afterwards disgraced himself.

The family thought Johnston was altogether too young to take a commission, but he was dissatisfied, and all the time threatening to run away. In the winter of 1863-4

he said that if I did not get him a commission he would go on to Washington and stand an examination for an officership in a negro regiment. A dear friend of mine was a major, commanding one of the three battalions constituting the Thirteenth New York Heavy Artillery, so I let Johnston go with him.

The Thirteenth New York Heavy Artillery was almost a realization of the mythical Horse-Marines. One battalion served on a flotilla of gunboats, another on field service, while a third, attached to heavy guns, constituted the garrison of Fort O'Rorke, one of the advanced works for the protection of Norfolk. Of this the commander was Major F. R. Hassler, grandson of the famous Hassler who first organized the Coast Survey, and my son, Johnston, was his Post Adjutant.

One peculiar feature of this post was the cultivation of snapping turtles in the wet ditches, to preclude desertion and prevent the men from breaking bounds at night. Some of these reptiles were "whoppers," with shells as large in circumference as the orifice of a bushel basket. While at this fort, Johnston was taken with the fever of the region, and to save his life Major Hassler sent him home. He was invalided about all summer, and such an effect had the disease upon him that he did not recover from attacks, generally in summer, or regain his health, for eighteen years.

When he returned to his regiment he found General Shepley in command of the post, who took a great fancy to Johnston, and made him his aide. When Butler got into trouble, and was removed from his greater command, Shepley lost the smaller one, and was sent to Weitzel as Chief of Staff. Thus it was that Johnston came to be on the staff of the latter.

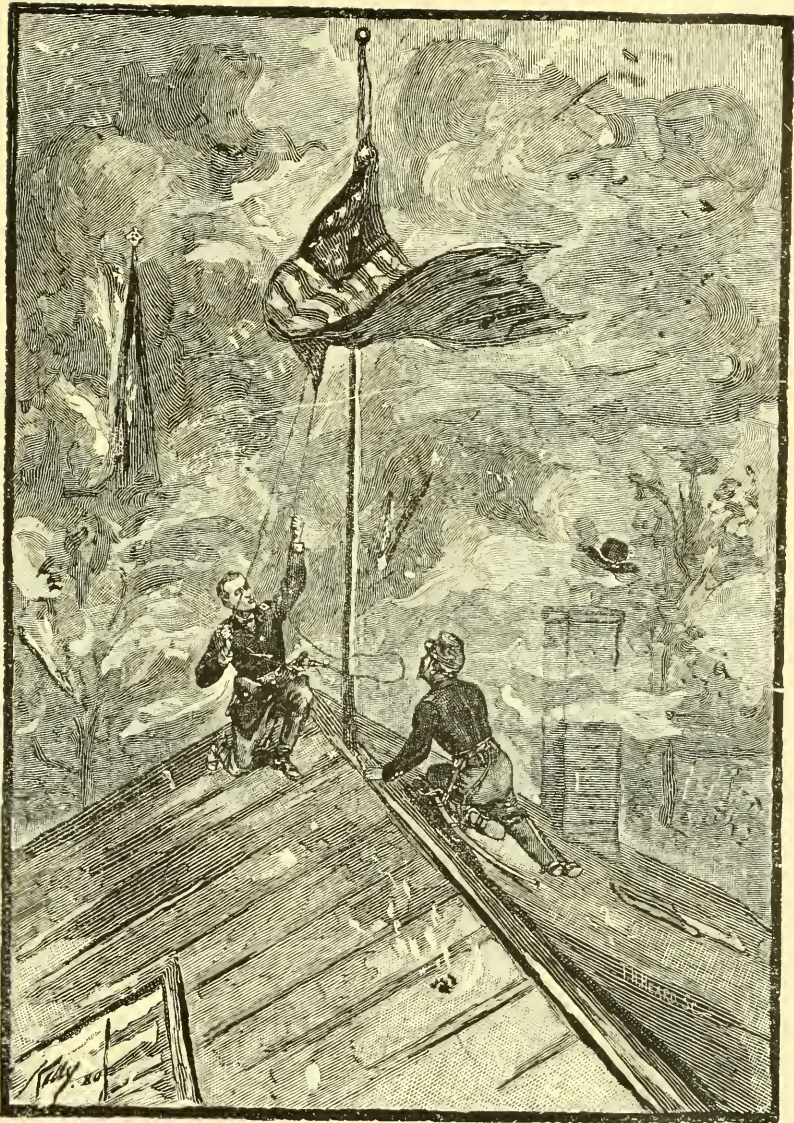
Now comes something that has never been understood, and explains why Johnston deserves so much credit in connection with hoisting the first flag over Richmond. As full corroboration of my view, see article, "Incidents of the Capture of Richmond," by Major-General Geo. F. Shepley, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, of July 1880.

The short and long of it is this: when Grant was ready to make his last move against Petersburg—which was successful—in order to prevent Longstreet, on the north side of the river, from sending reinforcements to Lee on the south side, Weitzel was ordered to assault Longstreet's lines. It was perfectly understood that there was little or no chance of his carrying them, and that he would suffer very great loss, but that he was to do his best, cost what it might in life, to prevent Longstreet from detaching a single man to the assistance of Lee.

The whole thing was a gigantic forlorn hope, and Johnston, to whom was entrusted a particular flag, which was the first displayed over New Orleans, to hoist over the Capitol at Richmond, volunteered to lead the assault. I have his letter which he wrote home, stating that he could not write particulars. Something important was impending, and in the attempt he was going to do or die; the next time we heard from him he would be dead or glorious.

The night before the intended assault, Johnston climbed up on top of the Signal Tower, and saw the light of a great conflagration in the direction of Richmond. He reported it, and soon after a negro waif came in and said that Richmond was being evacuated. Thereupon Weitzel advanced upon the city, and Johnston hoisted the "first real American flag," which put the seal to the Rebellion, and of which I have official recognition in detail, furnished to me under seal by the Secretary of War.

Admiral Farragut said that, considering Johnston's volunteering with the expectation of leading an assault, the fact that he did what was intended, although no assault occurred, entitled him to just as much recognition as if the expected peril had been undergone, and it was in taking exactly this view of the case that the general and State governments acted, and conferred the brevets of lieutenant-colonel and colonel, for his hoisting the "first real American flag" over Richmond.



Hoisting First Real American Flag over the Capitol of the captured Rebel Capital, Richmond, Monday 3d April, 1865, by Lt.-Col. Johnston Livingston de Peyster, A.D.C.

That fact was not mentioned in his brevet-commission. I heard it explained as follows: Wilson, chairman of committee on brevets, was from Massachusetts. A detachment of cavalry, perhaps from that State, or under a Massachusetts officer, had been ordered to follow up the retreating rebels; but, instead of doing so, galloped up to the capitol and hoisted their guidons before anyone was aware that the Yankees were in Richmond. Grant decided that, under the circumstances, guidons were not a flag, and that Johnston was entitled to all the credit of displaying the first flag.

But here Grant's justice ended. Quite a sum of money was given by someone to constitute a reward for the soldier or officer who hoisted the first American flag over Richmond. Grant chose to decide that, as Richmond was not absolutely taken by assault, and Petersburg technically (not actually) was, the reward should go to those who planted the first flag in Petersburg. I wanted to contest the matter, but Johnston and the family were against it.

I never believed in Grant. I think that all that he did was due to circumstances, and not to himself, and I was not afraid of his reputation, with truth and justice on my side, my tongue to talk, my pen to write, and access to newspapers—particularly some that were not friendly to Grant, one of which is not afraid to come out and say its say, even amidst the manufactured furore attending his obsequies. Grant was always surrounded by a ring, and working for favorites. I consider that he sacrificed Warren in the worst degree, Wright's reputation in a lesser degree, and even the gallant Humphreys, who, least of all three, in the pursuit of Lee, was overslaughed, that Sheridan might have the whole credit.

Grant was either utterly incapable of estimating the comparative merits of men, or else he was destitute of honor in recording his judgment of them. His classification of Humphreys is either a proof of ignorance or an evidence of a mean depreciation of a man who had served him well, but who was too honest to pervert the

truth to condone Grant's shortcomings in the shattering of the "Army of the Potomac" against the superior handling of the "Army of Northern Virginia" by Lee. I have said this openly. I printed as much and worse while Grant lived, so it is not unmanly to record my opinion of him now that he is where Macbeth sent Duncan. I consider that Grant was the personification of selfishness, and that his greatness consisted in nothing but his sublime disregard of human life and suffering, and his pertinacity, in which he presented a perfect contrast to what great generals call pottering indecision.

After the war, Johnston was a sort of aide-de-camp to Crawford. He went out to Spain as military attaché to Sickles. Everybody likes the boy, and considers him brave and able; but whether the effects of the fever were stronger than his will power, or whether he was sick or inert, his activity ceased, after the war, until after eighteen years.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE PROPHET ON THE WATCH TOWER

Unable to secure a commission as brigadier-general from either the State or National authorities, and suffering from hemorrhages which probably would have proved fatal if aggravated by the hardships inseparable from service in any lower rank, General de Peyster, as we have seen, was prohibited from participating in the field operations of the Civil War. This inaction, galling to his spirit, was especially so in view of the timidity and blunders of the Union generals during the early part of the struggle. In a letter to Honorable John Hickman, 10 April, 1862, he says:

“A good chess-player, blindfolded, can understand the moves upon a chess-board and direct the pieces as well as a poor player who has his eyes uncovered. Even so a soldier, one who has studied and understands strategy, can comprehend what movements should be made and direct the march of divisions upon the strategic chess-board, although the eye of sense cannot overlook the details which are perfectly visible to the eye of his mind. Thus from my tower I contemplate the positions and manœuvres of the different corps of our army; shudder when I see them jeopardized, impatient when I feel that they are misdirected, and sad or furious when I know they are sacrificed. We are winning the game at the cost of men and money which genius, single-mindedness and vigor might have economized wonderfully.”

The anxiety with which he watched the course of events received a strong personal accentuation through the enlistment of his sons, one after the other. In a letter to his father, 17 May, 1862, he wrote: “Of all the de Peysters who talk so much about patriotism, my sons alone have represented the family upon the battle-

field. I now feel that it is easy to preach at home, and another thing to peril one's life amid steel and ball."

During this period General de Peyster carried on a correspondence with General Kearny, his cousin, General Joseph Hooker, General Butterfield, General William F. Wainwright, Colonel Charles S. Wainwright, his sons, other officers in the field, Governor Morgan, of New York, John Hickman, and other prominent men. Many believed that the war would soon be over, that a few Union victories would bring the South to terms, or effect a compromise. General de Peyster, from the beginning, maintained that the conflict would be one of years, until either the North or the South had become completely subjugated. He reiterated this opinion in a letter to Lieutenant J. Cleve Symes, 12 September, 1862:

"I predicted that six years would elapse from the inauguration of Lincoln until the settlement of the question, and rest assured that the country will be reunited either under our own old constitution, or under the constitution of the Confederate States, with the North as victors or victims."

He felt outraged when England imperatively demanded the surrender of the Confederate Commissioners, Mason and Slidell, taken from the "Trent" in November, 1861. "I would have hung Slidell and Mason," he wrote, in his first outburst of indignation, "and have given up the bodies. And now, were I sure England meditated war, I would detach twenty-five thousand men from the Potomac, hurry them into Canada, and so effectually destroy the locks of the Rideau and Welland Canals that no gunboat could get up to the lakes for years."

At the beginning of the struggle, on the ground of military necessity and of humanity alike, he advocated an enactment by Congress, or a decree by President Lincoln, emancipating the slaves. He urged that the negroes be employed in digging trenches and erecting fortifications for the Union armies. Basing his opinion upon historical examples, which he cited, he also maintained that negro regiments, with white officers, would

prove effective, and would be especially useful for service in malarious districts to which the Northern whites were not acclimated.

“Whether such an awful catastrophe as an uprising of the blacks at the instigation of the North could find favor with European civilization, a self-constituted judge,” he wrote,* “is not the question; the question is, what is the pleasure of our Supreme Ruler, and is it not our privilege, as well as our duty, by a middle but straightforward course, by freeing and using lawfully (in an equitable as well as a legal sense) the slaves, and providing by restraint against their excesses, to end the war speedily, and thereby, through their emancipation, and through the consequent coöperation of the measure, save blood, money, and time, all of which expenditure must fall most heavily upon the loyal North, already innocently suffering—heavily suffering—to prevent the maintenance and extension of an evil whose gangrene was gradually invading every member and permeating every tissue of the Commonwealth.”

He declared that, whether or not the North was prepared for the measure, God would bring about the liberation of the slaves. In an article printed 18 April, 1862** he said, “As the power to liberate the poor, oppressed slave is in the hands of God alone, and as He delivered His people of old with a high hand and an outstretched arm from Egyptian bondage, He will deliver the poor, down-trodden slaves of America by His judgments, as He cannot do it by His mercies.”

“It is strange that our countrymen will not see,” again he wrote in a letter to Hickman, 12 July, 1862, “that in the blacks consists our strength and the enemy’s weakness, and that our Government is pursuing a course which is converting an element of power into an element of feebleness, and, by a blindness which is incomprehensible, permitting the Rebels to transmute slavery from

*“Wisdom out of History on the Present Relation of our Government to Slavery,” *The Republican*, Chester, Pennsylvania, 16 May, 1862.

***The Republican*, Chester, Pennsylvania, 18 April, 1862.

a poison into a nutriment, i.e., by employing slaves as auxiliaries and thus sparing their armies. Thus did Napoleon err and fall from the summit of greatness to the depth of ruin. While we are playing with the fire which is consuming our means, it is enveloping us ourselves in its circle of destruction—such is the bitterness expressed toward those who are in favor of emancipating and employing the slaves.”

Throughout the war the mistakes and stupidity of the Union generals were a constant aggravation to him. “How did McClellan come to let the enemy retreat without troubling them?” he writes to his cousin, General Kearny, 18 March, 1862, after General Joe Johnston had evacuated Manassas. “From the maps, which Edward Kearny says he sent you, at my request, it would seem to me they occupy a better position now for purely defensive operations—upon the line of the Rappahannock and Rapidan, stretching from northeast to southwest, their right resting on Fredericksburg, their centre on Gordonsville, their extended extreme right on Cumberland Gap—than when they displayed themselves north and south along the Potomac. For aggressive defensive, particularly against Washington, the first line was the best. They now occupy a central position, cover their communication, operate on extensive lines, and are certainly nearer to their supply of subsistence and material.

“They occupy a central position, such as Napoleon did, when, abandoning his siege material in the trenches before Mantua, he annihilated, successively, the Austrian columns which debouched from the Tyrol and Freuland defiles. They have relinquished much of their material on their riparian works and Manassas stronghold, but they have improved the general aspect.

“On the other hand, we are getting farther and farther from our base of supply and reënforcement, and as long as they occupy Fredericksburg, they menace our communications, perpendicularly almost. If we afford them time to fortify their new positions, how are we better off?

Was I not right in wanting to turn them by Fredericksburg, advancing thence directly by Richmond? Were it not for the Rebels' disasters in the West, I should consider our task a much harder one than when they occupied Manassas."

Behind the mistakes of the Union leaders, he recognized an overruling Providence. He expresses this in a letter to Hickman, 10 April, 1862: "What was the arrival of the Monitor at the crisis other than a direct interposition of Providence? Again, what saved our army at Pittsburg (Landing, or Shiloh) but Providence, keeping back Beauregard until Buell's lethargic advance brought his forces within saving distance? Again, Providence saved Curtis at Pea Ridge. Nothing but the occurrence of a swollen stream, and the fall of two Rebel leaders on the same day, preserved the Federal Army from destruction. I think the military operations of almost all our leaders a series of blundering efforts rendered victorious by the same Arm which fought for Joshua and Gideon."

At times he grew despondent. In this mood he writes to Hickman, 21 May, 1862: "Last night I was stigmatized as a determined radical by a worthy man because I gave it as my opinion that if we do not kill slavery, slavery will kill the Republic; if we do not crush out the slave aristocracy, the slave representation, with kindred serpents, will stifle us. I was the first to suggest the idea of negro regiments, with white officers, for malarious districts, for which I was hooted down, an idea now generally recommended. I have toiled, and learned, and suggested, sowed, watered, and grown, only to see others harvest, until I have learned to think that Providence designed me for other work, and, ceasing to struggle, have suffered myself to sink beneath the wave of the ambitious crowd. Are you affected by the same despondency?"

Almost immediately upon the inauguration of the movement, he prophesied that McClellan's Peninsular Campaign, of 1862, would end in failure. In letters to General Kearny and others he maintained that the

advance upon Richmond should be through Fredericksburg, and that McClellan's move was a gross violation of true strategy. In a letter to Hickman, 21 May, 1862, he pointed out that the course of events were confirming his judgment. "Do you not think that it is very evident now that either McClellan underestimated his adversaries, made grave miscalculations, or committed a worse error in advancing up the Peninsula, and permitting the enemy to escape out of the Peninsula, when he had the command of the water on both sides? It seems to me that only two Generals have shown generalship, Mitchell and Pope. All the rest seem to me to act as if Providence were leading them, half blind, out of dark places into which they had thrust themselves."

Bank's defeat in West Virginia occasioned another outburst, in a letter to Hickman dated 27 May, 1862. "What do you think of Bank's defeat? What a burden of sin is on some one's conscience and soul. My heart bleeds for the poor, abandoned Unionists of the Shenandoah Valley. How can we expect Union sentiment to develop itself, when we only invoke it to abandon it to the vengeance of its enemies, as in North Carolina last summer, and twice in Virginia and Florida? In this war the Right owes no debt of acknowledgment to men. Providence, and Providence alone, saves us, sustains us, and wards off the blows of our enemies. When I contemplate the blunders of our leaders, and see their consequences multiplied, I think of Elisha and Dothan, and the chariots of fire encompassing him and Jacob, guarded by the angels at the camp of Manhanaim."

In the dark days of the summer of 1862 he takes heart from a local manifestation of patriotism in Duchess County, where he lives, and writes accordingly to his friend, 14 August, 1862: "John Hickman, the North is not alive and luke-warm, not dead and dissolving, not sunk in the slumber of the opiate, but asleep and ready to awaken! Our eyelids are not yet unsealed, but there is a grasp upon the arm which will rudely but effectually shake away sleep."

In a letter to Colonel Charles S. Wainwright, 26 August, 1862, he severely arraigns McClellan. "For a moment I suffered my judgment to change, and myself to suppose that you must be better able to judge of McClellan than I. But I say unhesitatingly that if McClellan had the majority of chances to take Richmond in forty-eight hours, and withdrew simply because the Government ordered it, against his better judgment, with orders out, and all arrangements made for an advance upon the Rebel capital, he is not a man to be at the head of such an army, for he has not the requisite independence and self-confidence.

"Had he taken Richmond against orders, the country would have borne him out in any breach of orders. Had he failed, he could not be more condemned than he is now. If he had all the other qualities of the greatest generals of history, coupled with want of energy, faint-heartedness, and unwillingness to assume responsibility, he is not the man for us, for the occasion, or for the age."

In a letter to his cousin, General Kearny, written two days before the latter's fall on the field of Chantilly, he comments upon the failure of the Peninsular Campaign, recalls his prophecy of failure, and warns of the imminent danger of the fulfilment of another prediction, the invasion of Maryland or Pennsylvania by the Confederates. "'You have gone and done it,' as the street boys say. What has been the result of your expedition to the Peninsula? What return for two hundred million dollars of outlay and ten thousand dead, sick, crippled, wounded, broken-down men? Did I not tell you what would be the fate of such a move, and admonish you your only strategic line of advance was through Fredericksburg? And here you are back again and fighting for the safety of Washington in the same fields you manœuvred on in the mud of 1861. Gracious! Where is the young Napoleon and the great men we were promised—and lavished men and money upon like water? * * *

“Look out, or what I foretold, and gave you numerous examples of, in mine of February 15, 1862, will be carried out and repeated on our soil, and a Rebel inburst, eluding your half dead and alive divisions, ‘en aire,’ carry devastation and dismay into Pennsylvania, or hope and horror into Maryland.

“There is no real discipline, as I understand it, in our army, if the accounts I receive are correct. Deserters come and go without experiencing the death penalty, sentries sleep at their posts, and, worse than all, our generals seem asleep everywhere. Can it be the talent of commanding is with the South, and the North permits no great man to show what its people could do, if they were led? Alas, where is the young Napoleon and his marshals? Where?”

The predicted invasion of Maryland occurred in less than two weeks after these words were written, while the invasion of Pennsylvania took place the following year.

In a letter to Oliver S. Halsted, 9 September, 1862, General de Peyster expresses a premonition. “I think things are rapidly hurrying to a crisis of one kind or another, and it depends now not in the ability of those who have proved deficient, and are behind, but in the courage, energy and ability of the enemy, who are before. All my fears are realized, my foretelling come true, and I await the result of the last month’s mistakes and crimes, unable or not permitted, by health or position, to assist or resist.”

This letter was written only a few days before the battles of South Mountain and Antietam. The invasion of Maryland, following the failure of the campaigns of McClellan and Pope and the death of Kearny, was depressing to General de Peyster. “What is taking place now, I predicted or shadowed out in my correspondence with Phil Kearny last winter,” he writes, 10 September, 1862, to Colonel William P. Wainwright, “and he predicted months ago that if things were managed as they had been, the Rebels would redeem their scrip in Philadelphia.”

“I am heartbroken at the condition of public affairs,” he writes on the next day to Halsted, “and when alone, without excitement, my eyes fill with unwonted tears at the sacrifice of my cousin.” “Alas! Alas!” he cries on the day following, in a letter to Hickman, “what I shadowed forth last December, and demonstrated as feasible, with examples, in February, has come to pass. The Rebels are over the Potomac, and, if some newspaper accounts are true, over Mason and Dixon’s line likewise.”

In the same letter he draws a parallel between the situation of the North and that of the eleven tribes of Israel in their war against the tribe of Benjamin. The cause of the united tribes, like that of the North, was just, and God was for them, yet could not pass over the condition of the people. In self-confidence they went up against Benjamin and were defeated. Outwardly humbling themselves, but still acting in self-sufficiency, they again went forth to battle and suffered a second defeat. Under the discipline of this misfortune they fasted, wept, prayed, and sacrificed, and God gave the Benjaminites into their hands. General de Peyster compares the Union defeat at Bull Run, in July, 1861, the disastrous Peninsular Campaign of 1862, and second battle of Manassas, to the two defeats of Israel by Benjamin. The causes of these defeats he sums as follows:

“First, as a just punishment for the general vices of the nation, but more particularly for its idolatrous practices, perfectly represented in our own case by our universal and all absorbing worship of mammon;

“Second, because the eleven tribes placed such excessive confidence in the goodness of their cause that, when they went to consult God, after the assembling of their hosts, instead of supplicating His divine favor in determining the issue, they only inquired of Him which of the tribes should make the first attack.”

It is a curious coincidence that, within less than a week after the date of General de Peyster’s letter applying these lessons, God gave Antietam to the Union cause, the first decisive victory of the war in the East.

“Another phase of the disastrous condition of our affairs which gives me more pain and fear for the result than even the neglect of earnest and able citizens,” he writes in the same letter, “is the perception that the authorities seem entirely forgetful that there is a God who rules, and depend entirely upon the arm of flesh, which has more than once proved itself a Pharaoh’s reed against the enemy.

“Whether it be from true conscientious piety, the pride which apes humility, or the hypocrisy of a Machiavelli, the President of the Confederate States is a noble example in the attitude he has assumed toward his Maker.

“Does victory crown the Rebel arms? His proclamation, which announces the good tidings, is simultaneous with another appointing a thanksgiving for the mercy. Does the time seem inauspicious, disaster imminent, or the crisis demand the inspiration of the higher Power? Instantly goes forth a proclamation for a day of fasting and prayer. Thus it was the heroes of the Bible thought, wrought and fought. Thus Nehemiah built again the walls of the Holy City, and thus the American leaders, who achieved the independence of this country, lifted up their voices to Him who has promised never to close His ears to the suppliant, and accomplished the greatest work of modern times. And would that our authorities at Washington could see the beauty of even a Jefferson Davis’s example, summon our people at once to buckle on their harness, and bow their knees in prayer, and exhort them, while using the arm of flesh, to supplicate the favor of the Almighty—that underneath they may find the support of the everlasting arms.”

The critical situation preceding the battle of Antietam led General de Peyster to another effort to induce the New York authorities to organize the State militia to meet a possible invasion of the North by Lee’s army. In a letter to Governor E. D. Morgan, 12 September, 1862, he writes:

“In view of the lamentable results of the military operations on the Potomac and elsewhere, and the

possible consequences of continual blundering, aggravated by treasonable assistance to the Rebels, whose ramifications seem to be too deeply concealed for discovery and punishment, would it not be better to put New York on a war footing, so as to be ready for any emergency—war from without and insurrection within? I have taken an opportunity, more than once, to allude to the peculiar structure, morally considered, of the district I live in, and I think it would be a good thing to have matters ready to strangle any adverse move with the first indication. To revise the militia organization would be one move, and if you conclude to do it, I would like to be restored to command as a supernumerary officer, temporarily deprived, and now reinstated in my place * * *

“Permit me to suggest two things: First, a day of fasting and prayer for the countenance and assistance of Him who alone giveth or withholdeth the victory; and second, a vigorous preparation of the State infantry forces to protect ourselves or to aid our neighbors who cover us. Let us not depend on Washington officials, but rely upon our right arms, supported by that beneficent Being who will aid us if we will aid ourselves.”

At the same time he sought the coöperation of others, urging that they second his suggestions by writing to the Governor or to the Adjutant-General. The following, dated from Brooklyn, 16 September, 1862, was received in reply from Major-General Harmanus B. Duryea.

“Personally, I always had the highest esteem for you and I have always considered, and so frequently stated, that you first gave an improved tone to military affairs in this State, and that the whole Union is indebted to you for your labors to elevate and instruct the Militia. That you perceived what should be done, and had a high aim, I never considered a fault, as some may have done who could not appreciate your designs, nor the necessity for military preparation which you anticipated, and which recent events have so fully justified. I preserve and frequently refer to your reports and other writings,

as most valuable contributions to our military literature. So much for my feelings. As to the business.

"I have always urged the effective organization of the Militia. My views are known to the Governor, and were so known at an early stage of these troubles. I will write him, or the Adjutant-General, again, and perfectly coincide in your views."

Nevertheless, this attempt was as fruitless as had been all previous efforts to transform the New York militia into an efficient organization. About this time the creation by Lincoln of a private staff, with General de Peyster at its head, was suggested to the President by Oliver S. Halsted. Halsted was well acquainted with General de Peyster, and had been intimate with General Philip Kearny. He requested copies of letters written by General de Peyster to Kearny and others, containing his predictions and military views, to be submitted to Lincoln. General de Peyster forwarded the letters, but expressed some doubt of his ability to submit to the humiliations which the proposed position might involve.

"I will try and send the other letters to-morrow," he wrote to Halsted, 11 September, 1862, "but I am satisfied that I could not for an hour stand such treatment as Pope was subjected to by (what shall I say?) conceited favorites, however brave, and men willing to sacrifice a sudden promotion, however confident, to their jealousy and pride of position." Again, on 13 September, he wrote to Halsted:

"Since I wrote last to you I have received such a mortal shock that, upon my word, I do not wonder that independent men cannot get along at Washington. Notwithstanding Pope, it is claimed, was beaten fifteen days successively, and charged the causes of his defeats upon his not being supported by those inferior to him, who owed him their support, I see that everyone has been sent back to his commission without the slightest investigation. Now, if General Pope, the particular friend of the President, cannot obtain justice, what chance would an outsider have?"

“The two legal advisors that I have had for twelve years, one the most intimate and devoted friend, stated that the reason why, with all my quickness of perception and study—not to repeat their very flattering expressions—I did not get along successfully, was because I was unconciliating in my manners when I thought I was right. This may be so. I know I do not like to have more than one master on earth, and One (Whom I will sooner obey than the other) in Heaven; for an earthly master is finite, the other Infinite.

“I can bring a testimonial from Governor Clark as to my fidelity under the most trying circumstances to him—fidelity in a position in which most men would have rebelled. I resigned because he asked me to do something which affected the honor of my race. That I could not do, although politicians did not see the point.”

On the same day, 13 September, 1862, he writes to Colonel Charles P. Wainwright: “I hope your great generals will quit displaying their generalship, as they have done, and blunder into some victories; for they must *blunder* into successes, if their defeats are the evidence of great generalship. I will add that the results of such generalship as theirs was predicted, in a great measure, or indicated as probable, in a series of letters to General Kearny, copies of which letters, coinciding with General Kearny’s views as to what should be done, have been transmitted to Washington, at the request of a friend of the President, to be laid before the President.”

On 17 October, 1862, Halsted wrote to General de Peyster as follows: “I got an opportunity to open your matter to the President, and also to the most prominent Major-General, Joseph Hooker. * * * As soon as he is well, there will be a change of program—McClellan will be reduced to a limited command, or lower. Hooker and certain other active generals will have the lead, and a fall campaign be opened on fighting principles. I shall see Hooker to-morrow, and shall talk fully your program over with him. I am satisfied I can secure a position

suitable to your talents and great military accomplishments, and satisfactory to you, at an early day."

A few days later, 25 October, 1862, General de Peyster mentions the proposal of Halsted in a letter to General Hooker. "I hear that you are to receive the command of an independent army corps," he writes, "or of a very large dependent force, and you might like to have some one who knows what backing a general needs, near the President—one whose health would not permit him to work for an active command for himself, and one who, although he would consider it a sacrifice of self to go to Washington at all, would do it from a sense of duty. Mr. Halsted told me he would speak to the President about putting me on his private staff, if he organized one, and about the 1st June, 1861, I offered myself to the President as a sort of Aide-de-Camp, after he had refused me as a Brigadier-General, with a Brigade."

A further reference to the matter is found in a letter of Halsted to de Peyster, 1 November, 1862: "I had seen and read with much interest your article in the 'Times,' and agree with you fully in your history, Napoleonic Strategy, and its application. * * * I put the paper in General Hooker's hands. He is delighted with your views, and estimates your military accomplishments at their true value.

"Nothing will be done of any account until after the New York election, even the pretended forward movements will have no practical results. A new program will be developed soon, and should it prove as I anticipate, I shall secure the benefit of such great services as I know you can render in a position alike most honorable and agreeable to you."

Nothing came from Halsted's attempts in this direction. We insert in this place, however, a note from him to General de Peyster, written in 1869, in which he states that the President entertained the proposed plan.

"New York, June 4, 1869.

"Dear General:

"I see the question agitated by the English Press, who

is General de Peyster to whom General Cust has dedicated his last military work?

“As one who knows, I can answer from several stand-points. First and foremost, he is the blood cousin of my friend, Major-General Phil Kearny, who proved himself the best field fighting General of the War, and whom I have no hesitation in pronouncing the most thorough and accomplished General the War produced, up to the period of his untimely death at Chantilly, which alone prevented his advancement to the command of the Army of the Potomac, as I have reason to know from repeated assurances of President Lincoln.

“Next, I do know that President Lincoln at one time contemplated giving General de Peyster the high military position of Chief of his Personal Staff, an independent organization contemplated, and warranted by the demands and necessities of the occasion, which appointment was overruled by interested parties, who were unwilling the General should occupy a position so important and independent.

“Yours truly,
“Pet Halsted.”

We also give a letter from Adjutant-General William S. Stryker, of New Jersey, written to General de Peyster, 13 February, 1894, in which he refers to the relation which Halsted sustained toward President Lincoln during the war.

“Yours of yesterday received. I remember ‘Pet’ Halsted very well,” he writes. “His correct name was Oliver S. Halsted, and he was the son of the Oliver S. Halsted who was Chancellor of New Jersey in 1845. I know that it was a common report that he had a good deal of influence with Mr. Lincoln. Of course I have no special knowledge on this point.

“On the 13th day of September, 1863, I was seated in Willard’s Hotel, Washington, waiting for a train to convey me home on leave of absence, when ‘Pet’ Halsted came in and said that Mr. Lincoln wished to see me. Mr. Lincoln had evidently sent him to me, because I had

that morning reported the surrender of Fort Wagner, in South Carolina, to General Halleck.

“‘Pet’ Halsted took me immediately into the White House, introduced me to Mr. Lincoln, and I had nearly two hours’ conversation with him.

“It appeared to me, at that time, as if ‘Pet’ Halsted had full access to Mr. Lincoln and the White House. There must be a great many general officers who know all about this matter. General Slocum and General Franklin would, I suppose, be well posted on the subject.”

General de Peyster continued his advocacy of the policy of organizing negro regiments until, at length, the Government began to act upon the suggestion. In a letter to Mr. Swinton, 8 December, 1862, the General wrote:

“I suggested the organization of colored regiments as early as the outbreak of the war. At that time my opinion was based on their conduct in San Domingo. Since then I have seen their efficiency corroborated in other works and ways. * * * If men’s prejudices could be overcome by any moderate amount of proof, it would be unnecessary to adduce any further arguments in favor of black regiments; but as there are still many cavillers, it does no harm to accumulate testimony.”

In a letter to Governor Morgan, 16 January, 1863, General de Peyster again urged his views in connection with the State militia. “You did not place me in a position,” he added, “commensurate with my experience, study, and the estimate I set on my capacity for service. * * *

“Every undertaking which I predicted would fail, judging from military rules, has failed. Every operation I suggested as a keynote to success, has told. Every officer I designated as competent, has proved himself so; and I have a host of letters from able men to prove all I claim. I merely mention this to show you that, notwithstanding my bad health, I might have earned the commission I sought.”

In a letter to C. C. Clark, 27 July, 1863, speaking of

the draft riots, General de Peyster wrote, "I predicted this outbreak when Seymour was elected, and besought my friends, almost like praying, not to vote for him, because I foresaw the evil which would result from his success.

"Mr. Woods will tell you that, strange as it may appear, I have predicted everything which has occurred since the election of Lincoln; not from any peculiar sagacity of my own, but because I am a close student of history, and have from my boyhood up accustomed myself to analyze what I read, compare like causes and like results, and apply the reasons to current events. Thus I foretold our rebellion, the result of the first battle of Bull Run, and of every conflict this side of the Alleghanies. Ignorant of the topography of the West, I could not apply my military studies to the measuring of occurrences west of them."

During the first year of Governor Seymour's second term in office, and before the draft riots occurred, General de Peyster wrote at length, urging the new Governor to undertake the effective reorganization of the New York State troops which vainly he had urged upon Governor Morgan. This letter, dated 29 June, 1863, is, in part, as follows:

"Against the advice of my friends, who consider that my offers have been met with disrespect too often already, I cannot refrain from recapitulating what I know in regard to neglect in organizing our State Troops. * * * When I returned from Europe, I laid before your Excellency (as I had done before your predecessor in office) a plan for the thorough organization of a National Guard. At great expense and wear and tear of body and mind, by tongue, pen, and type, I endeavored to impress its necessity upon our State authorities.* * * As Adjutant-General I sowed my head with gray hairs, trying to put my views in practice, until I was forced to quit Albany by a clique of prejudiced and interested politicians. * * * When this war actually broke out, I urged upon political leaders (looked upon by the masses

as the incarnation of political astuteness) the necessity of organizing home corps, or State corps, or mobilized militia, as a nursery for officers, non-commissioned officers, and reliable soldiers. How was I met? As no man of practical experience and position had a right to be met. * * * I offered at Washington to raise troops, and was repulsed. * * * On a second application, incited by my Rector, I asked no salary if I did not succeed in all I promised. * * *

“Although, I repeat, broken in health, still, backed by authority, I believe I can yet raise troops for defensive if not aggressive service. Do we not need them?

“Look at Portland. How near complete success! The bold stroke of a handful! Turn to Pennsylvania. Fearful! The destruction of the great bridges would pay all the expenses, in the last ten years, of maintaining a good militia, according to the plan I proposed, by holding yearly camps of officers, &c. * * * Where are we to get troops, worthy the name, after the existing armies are wasted, as preceding armies have been wasted?

“I foretold the war would outlast the term of President Lincoln, and that our armies (I did not calculate waste, or the navy; or the prodigality of political schemes) would cost three hundred million dollars a year. I was laughed at as a madman, but I was below the mark. * *

“Your Excellency has, at your control, iron, food, and money—men also. You can cover this State with soldiers, and can convert a nation—for this State, in itself, is a nation—into an army, and a nursery of armies, following the Swiss plan, even to its code of punishment, and its economies. * * * Swiss organization enabled Switzerland to put down secession in twenty-three days, and hold at bay even military Prussia and arrogant Austria—always, like England, ready to bully the weak and unprepared. * * * Raise the flag, draft, and fill the gaps with old soldiers. * * * At least, organize the masses on paper, so that men can be found when wanted; organize mobilized corps, to maintain discipline and enforce the draft.”

In a letter to General Hooker, 29 April, 1864, General de Peyster says: "It is very curious how I indicated in a letter to Abraham Lincoln—a letter which a friend of mine intercepted—the very plan, for your operations against Lee in Pennsylvania last year, which would have resulted in the annihilation of the Rebel army. It was to gather together under you every available bayonet and sabre, and fall upon the rear of Lee with such a force as would have squelched him. I would have abandoned every position, unimportant as regards the great result, to employ their garrisons in the accomplishment of a result which would have entailed the recovery of those positions by the very success of the great object, the demolition of the Rebel Army of Virginia. Had you been seconded, as you planned, and should have been reinforced, the battle of 4th July, 1863, would have ended the Rebellion."

De Peyster's letter to Lincoln, referred to above, dated 30 June, 1863, shortly before the battle of Gettysburg, was as follows:

"You hesitate to abandon unimportant posts in order to concentrate their garrisons around Lee, the papers say, because it would not look well abroad to give up any ground we have won. Was such the practical strategy of Bonaparte, in his most glorious campaign in Italy, in 1796? When it was necessary to oppose Wurmser, he abandoned the siege of Mantua, left his one hundred and forty siege guns in his works, marched to meet and beat the Austrians; and then, when the armies of succor were disposed of, returned before Mantua and settled its fate. No great general, no sensible man, no man of average judgment, hesitates to sacrifice a lesser good to secure a greater. Great generals look to ends, and weigh means only in their relation to the attainment of great ends.

"If chronic lethargy, or rather apparent lethargy of conception, can be shaken off, Lee is between the upper and nether millstone, provided the concentration of troops affords sufficient power to the machinery to grind him to atoms there.

“Your Excellency may consider this letter as of even less importance than the offer I once made you of good troops, and subsequently of a good officer, William P. Wainwright, but history and eternity will hold you responsible for the partial or entire ruin of the North, when we offered you our blood, and our children, and our means, without (I am speaking of the people, not politicians) stint, or selfish thought of ourselves.”

General de Peyster maintained that the commanders of the Army of the Potomac would remain unable to solve their problem so long as their actions were controlled by a short-sighted policy looking only to the defence of the national capital. In a letter to Colonel Charles S. Wainwright, 11 December, 1863, he said: “The Army of the Potomac will never do anything worthy of itself until it cuts loose from Washington, as no army in the field can be subordinate to orders issued from a Bureau in Washington, presided over by a theorist in uniform and an ‘Attorney Secretary of War.’ The situation of your army is very similar to that of the Austrian main army, opposed to Frederic, and supposed to cover Vienna.

“If, after the money spent upon the defences of Washington, the preservation of that city depends upon keeping an army to defend its defences, it shows that a miserable set have to be defended within those defences. If Lee’s army, falling back on their lines of defence, can stop Meade’s army whenever it appears before those lines, it seems to me that Meade’s army might dare to attack Lee, having the defences of Washington to fall back upon in case of a reverse. Meade’s army is like a brave dog, attached to his kennel by a string, or held by an owner afraid to let him loose. How much better it would have been to have called out the militia for three months, while the season was still good for operations, to defend Washington and the line of the Potomac, while Meade’s army tried to equal the dash of Grant’s. I think my brain would have devised a plan, if I had had the authority and body to carry it.”

It was not until Grant became Lieutenant-General and was given powers making him practically independent of dictation from Washington that a campaign was inaugurated which terminated the war.

CHAPTER XXXIII

MILITARY WRITINGS DURING THE WAR

A spectator of the operations in the field, throughout the war General de Peyster put forth a constant succession of articles and pamphlets. They constituted a running commentary upon the battles and campaigns. He analyzed these, criticizing them in the light of the great campaigns of history, so constantly cited in all his military writings. Some of his articles were purely technical expositions of tactics, or of practical strategy. In others he sought to influence Congress, or the President, in important matters of public policy, such as those of the emancipation of the negroes, and their employment in the Union armies.

The reverses on the plain of Manassas, 21 July, 1861, called forth three articles, "Eighteen Reasons why we lost the Battle of Bull Run," "Parallels to Bull Run," and "Justice to McDowell's Army." In that hour of gloom he lifted a cry of hope, declaring that the defeat was due to inexperience, rather than to the incompetence of our officers, and certainly not to any cowardice of the rank and file, for whom he predicted the brave and brilliant conduct which afterwards they displayed upon a hundred fields.

As a sentinel upon the lookout, observing events, he believed that he recognized a lack of proper military conceptions, and this he sought to remedy in a series of articles which appeared in 1861. These included, "Military Lessons and Ideas Indispensible to the Comprehension of War" (three articles), "Reflections on the Defence of Military Positions," "Notions on Tactics," and "Military Maxims."

The complete inaction of the Army of the Potomac, under McClellan, throughout the winter of 1861-62,

induced General de Peyster early in 1862, to issue a pamphlet of twenty-four pages on "Winter Campaigns." In this he demonstrated, by citing an array of historical examples, the feasibility of successful military operations in the coldest weather. Perhaps this monograph was a chief agency in revolutionizing the policy of our armies. Certain it is that the Union victories at Mill Springs, Forts Henry and Donelson, Roanoke Island, Murfreesboro, Arkansas Post, and Nashville, the occupation of Wilmington, Sherman's march from Atlanta and capture of Savannah, and Grant's tenacious hand upon Petersburg, holding Lee with an icy grip which finally ended the war, are eloquent commentaries upon General de Peyster's timely advocacy of winter operations.

Military articles from his pen rapidly followed one another during 1862. These included, "Notions on Tactics" (two articles), "Military Conversations about Uniforms, Equipments, Artillery, &c.," "Aerostation in War," "Military Lessons: Cavalry and Teamsters," "Modern Tactics," "Wisdom out of History on the Present Relation of our Government to Slavery," "Comparison between American Slavery and that among the Hebrews and Early Christians," "A Visit to Old Point Comfort and about the Contrabands there," "Army Transportation—Want of Reorganization," "Military Lessons: I, Concerning the Qualities a General should possess; II, Hannibal; III, Tactics of the Three Armies United; IV, Battle of Idstedt," and an article and a poem on General Kearny.

In the fall of the same year he printed "Battles in Forests." This appeared in timely anticipation of Chancellorsville, the great struggle in the dense woods of the Wilderness, which prepared the way for the Union triumph at Gettysburg, as it also anticipated the battles of the Wilderness in Grant's final campaign, which led to the gates of Richmond and to Lee's surrender.

General de Peyster's military publications during 1863 included, "Practical Strategy, as illustrated by the Life and Achievements of a Master of the Art, the Austrian

Field Marshal Traun," a pamphlet of sixty-four pages, "Military Lessons: Louis XI.," "Military Lessons: Frederic the Great in the Seven Years' War," "Greek Fire," "Secession in Switzerland and in the United States Compared," a pamphlet of seventy-two pages, "An Interesting Article: The Present Revolution Foretold sixty-five years ago," "The Conduct of Military Operations" (two articles), and "Black Troops: Had Hannibal and Napoleon Black Blood in their Veins?"

His "Practical Strategy" and "Secession in Switzerland" are especially notable. In the first of these monographs, mainly written nearly a year before its publication, August, 1863, he protests most solemnly against the wholesale sacrifices of Union soldiers to no purpose.

"This pamphlet," he writes, "is called forth by the contemplation of resultless, or comparatively resultless, combats, and a prodigal waste of such a personnel as never before constituted the bulk of armies. The loyal North has suffered such repeated sacrifice of superior men, that the question forces itself upon the mind whether such expenditure of life was absolutely necessary, and whether or not it was not chargeable to ignorance or incomprehension of the plainest rules of true generalship and practical strategy.

"The most thoughtless and unfeeling man could scarcely repress a shudder, if he would only pause to reflect upon instances of the fearful waste of our best, bravest, and most experienced officers and privates, staked, with a desperation unworthy the military art, upon almost impossible results—regular Balaclava charges, presenting equal chances of destruction, with far inferior chances of success and glory. These sacrifices are not necessarily attributable to leaders in the field. Like the Balaclava charge, they have originated in orders sent from superiors at a distance, and given in ignorance of the actual condition of affairs upon the spot."

"The greatest test, as well as the duty of a general," he continues, a little further on, "is to avoid an unnecessary battle. The greatest generalship is to

conquer without fighting. To fight requires more courage; to coerce without fighting, science."

"Frederic the Great," he adds, "like Hannibal, his prototype in antiquity, preferred successes achieved by manœuvring, to those won by hammer and tongs work, although he did enough of both."

Again he writes: "If generals waste their best men and officers, particularly against works and cannon—for the best men always suffer where courage and ability is required—a country must eventually depend upon the refuse which remains behind, inferior indeed in head work, hand work, and heart work. * * * To sacrifice good old regiments is like turning the intelligent and industrious out of school, and keeping on only with the dunces and slothful. * * *

"Practical strategy, which preserves life, is as much an obligation upon a general as it is the duty of a surgeon to preserve a limb by treatment. The poorest surgeon can 'barber' off a member, but it is often the highest glory of the best surgeon to save one. To what then are we to attribute the prodigal waste of life which has characterized this war? To all those appointers and appointees who have underestimated and miscomprehended practical strategy! To prove what a master of the art did accomplish through the observance and application of its rules, and to show what can be effected by a general—hailed by his soldiers on a bloody field as 'our father'—who valued the lives of his soldiers, understood his business, and knew how to economize them, this little work has been written."

Grant, at least, among our generals, seems never to have profited from these timely warnings. The most appalling sacrifices of the war were made by him during his campaign against Lee—sacrifices which proved useless, since, after making them, he always had to resort to flanking movements in order to gain his ends.

In his pamphlet General de Peyster says: "That great results have been accomplished by even second-class generals, through their comprehension and application

of practical (real) strategy, without delivering or accepting, or without being forced into a great battle, has been proved by all reliable military history." He calls attention to the fact that, at the date of his writing, scarcely any Union general, except Rosecrans, had made any serious attempt to apply the principles of practical strategy. "Have our generals," he asks, "with the exception, perhaps, of Rosecrans and Gilmore, ever apparently weighed means and obstacles—materials in hand, with materials indispensable to the object? In fact, how many military maxims of acknowledged authority have our generals ignored? And if every hour conceded to the enemy for fortification be equal to the reinforcement of a battalion to that enemy, against what odds have our soldiers been called upon to combat? With what disproportionate means have our leaders undertaken to compel victory?"

The strategic principles by means of which the North ultimately prevailed, the "Anaconda system" then universally derided, he defends and justifies. The pamphlet chiefly consists, however, of a critical account of the notable success which Traun achieved by means of practical strategy—a teaching by historical object lessons.

"If the blood of our glorious dead," concludes de Peyster, "has been wasted through ignorance of that generalship in which Traun so excelled, it has not been shed in vain if it will enrich our free soil, and will produce heroes of his stamp to preserve and maintain our country's freedom. * * * There will, there must, some Traun arise, who is interested, valiant, wise like him, to exercise command and press the rebel foe from out the land which God seems to have established for free government—that God who never brought a betrayed and outraged people through the Red Sea of corrupt and treasonable administration, to suffer it to perish in the wilderness of anarchy, or under the heart and brain crushing despotism that drove our forefathers out from the Old World to build up liberal institutions in the New."

In his "Secession in Switzerland," delivered as an address before the Vermont State Historical Society, 20 October, 1863, he strikes a note of hope, based upon a parallel between the Swiss and American wars of secession.

"The rules and axioms deducible from the records of nations," he writes, "applied with common sense, can be relied upon with the same security as experience. Republics, however, must learn from republics. Any attempts to draw parallels between republics and monarchies will lead to fallacious results.

"At the present time there is, besides the United States, but one real republic in the world. Nominal republics have arisen in abundance in the course of man's history, but the federation of the Swiss cantons is the only one worthy to be named alongside of the great American experiment. The Spanish-American commonwealths are little better than anarchies. Of the three quasi European republics that existed before the French Revolution, all were extinguished by the armies of the first Napoleon. Switzerland, however, still remained to bear witness, on the Continent, to the principles of self-government and the inextinguishable spirit of liberty.

"The failure of former republics or commonwealths, and the occasional license or sporadic excesses of liberal institutions, should neither discourage nor disgust thinking men."

"From the failure of foreign and former republics," he adds, "men have argued that freedom in government is incompatible with human existence in great aggregations and developments—even as a conjuries or family of confederated republics. Switzerland has solved the problem on a small scale. The United States is now solving a similar problem on a grand scale. Woe to mankind if we, the latter, fail to do our duty."

He calls attention to the fact that the Swiss cantons were formed into a nation by means of the French Revolution, just as the American Revolution had united the American Colonies. "The decree of the French Direc-

tory," he writes, "declaring that the Swiss federation had ceased to exist, and organizing Switzerland into a single republic, with a central government, was not without its beneficial effects. The French Revolution commenced that process of amalgamation which the triumph over secession, in 1847, carried another step forward. It crushed Switzerland into something like a nationality, which was a comparative blessing."

Both the Swiss and American republics were tested by secession, the seceding cantons of Switzerland being in a minority, as were the Confederate States in America. General de Peyster boldly predicted that our Civil War would follow the course of Switzerland in the following particulars:

1. The united cantons of Switzerland were completely victorious, and that by means of the application of the "Anaconda System."

2. The cause of the seceders utterly collapsed the moment their armies were ruined and their chief cities occupied. "This should be a consolation," wrote General de Peyster, "to those who fear that guerilla war in the South can lead to any successful result, or defer, for more than a short period, its entire subjugation. The Sonderbund generals saw at a glance the game was up, after their armies had been dissipated and the principal places taken. So will it be with our Southern secession. It will collapse at once when the armies of Lee, Bragg, Beauregard, Johnston, and Magruder are destroyed."

3. The Swiss war was turned into a blessing, welding a confederation of cantons into a centralized nation. "No failure could have been more decided," wrote General de Peyster on this point, "no separation more mortifying, than that of the Ultramontane Secession League in Switzerland. No action could have been more prompt and energetic, no triumph more complete and beneficial, than that of the Swiss loyalists or Union party. * * *

"The final result seems to justify the idea that the madness and incipient success of the Separate League was promoted by Providence, in order that its separation

might convince Switzerland of the defects of its dislocated confederacy, and induce the cantons to consent to a more determined centralization of authority.

“The Separate League, which was to have divided Switzerland, to have arrested the progress of the age, and have restored abuses for the benefit of the few, to the suffering of the many, had a directly opposite result. It transmuted the loose confederation of twenty-two independent cantons into a well-knit nationality of twenty-two members. * * *

“The effort to shatter the Alpine republic, in a brief period proved a miserable failure, and the attempt here made, to divide and destroy our free government, we know will, in God’s good time, come to nought. And even as the national life-struggle in Switzerland ended in a more healthy and national existence, so, we trust, the fiery trial through which we, as a people, are now passing, will eventuate not only in a restored unity, but, if need be, in a stronger Democratic-Republican government, better fitted to perform its great work and hold its commanding position among the nations.”

In the same pamphlet General de Peyster maintained that enforcement of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine, rejecting outside interference in our affairs, is essential to the existence of the republic; and he predicted, in veiled language, that at the close of our war Maximilian and the French invaders of Mexico would be ejected. “Wherever a free government,” he wrote, “invited or promoted foreign interference, that government was overthrown. The Monroe Doctrine is nothing more than a recognition of this immutable law—and, if energetically applied, it is an antidote to the poison of foreign intervention in the affairs of this, our continent; ours by the law of nature, ours by the force of arms, as soon as, victorious over treason, we can give due attention to the intrusion of foreign enemies.”

General de Peyster notes a marked contrast, in one respect, between the Swiss war and ours. To the wisdom of the Swiss Unionists, in at once calling out a large

force to put down secession, he attributes the brevity of their struggle, while our failure to do this he severely criticises. "The first Swiss federal call for volunteers," he says, "was for 50,000 men, equal, in proportion to our population, to a levy of 550,000 men. President Lincoln's first demand was for 75,000 men, equal, in proportion to the Swiss population, to less than 7,000. This was the great mistake of our war. The second Swiss federal call was for 90,000 men, equivalent, in the United States, to a levy of 1,000,000; 100,000 responded."

The ability of the Swiss instantly to place upon the field a force so large, in proportion to the population, he attributes to the effective organization of their militia—a condition of things which he labored so assiduously to bring about in the State of New York. "From a comparison of all the different statements, between regularly organized troops, militia proper, &c., out of a population of 2,400,000," he writes, "at least 200,000 must have been in the field, or in garrison, doing duty with the armies in the opposing camps. This would be equivalent to 2,250,000 out of the population of our whole country, North and South.

"It may seem surprising that a comparatively poor country, like Switzerland, could set in motion so large an army at so short a notice. The explanation is clear and convincing. The cantons possess a militia so admirably organized that it can be placed on a war footing at once. The Swiss motto is one which should be ours, 'No regular army, but every citizen a soldier.' Our Constitution contemplated this result. The Swiss federal triumph was undoubtedly due to this preparation for war in time of peace."

Numerous military articles by General de Peyster appeared in 1864. "Secession—Historical Parallels," "The War in Denmark," "The Apparition which frightened the Governor of Provence out of his Capital," "Medical Organization of the Roman Army," "So Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel," "The Lessons of

History," "Who invented Shell Guns?" "Medical Arrangements of the Ancients," "John Cavalier," and "Von Bulow's Military Remarks on the Revolutionary War," were among the number, together with verses on "General Joe Hooker," "Farragut," and "Sherman."

Among other prophecies or predictions, to be found in his writings during this period, was one in connection with the ending of the war. He claimed that, through the interference of politicians with the commanders in the field and the incompetence of those whom he described as "improvised generals," the North would win at last by swarming out the South, flooding the fires of secession with the blood of our soldiers. "The war will terminate," he wrote, "as the poor wounded soldier saved his comrades from being blown up by a mine. He crawled, bleeding, over the passage, and soaked the powder with his blood, as we Northerners will soak the South into incombustion with our blood, and swarm them out as sand flies swarm a light."*

*The Army and Navy Journal, Volume I, Number 51, page 841.

CHAPTER XXXIV

DECISIVE WARS AND BATTLES

In this and several chapters following we give extracts from some of General de Peyster's early writings upon our Civil War, as the best means of conveying a just impression of the flavor and force of his military criticisms.

While he published isolated articles upon the great captains of ancient times, and upon famous battles of antiquity, his systematic military studies begin with the Thirty Years' War. That great European struggle stands at the beginning of what may be called the modern period of warfare, and, with succeeding wars, it furnishes the lessons which illustrate present practice. "As a study," writes General de Peyster, "scarcely any, even the most celebrated military critics, have ever paid sufficient attention to the strategy and tactics of the Thirty Years' War. It was emphatically the transition period between the Old and New, and when hostilities had closed, war, both as an art and a science, had been re-born."*

The great modern wars and their leaders, General de Peyster has briefly characterized for us in his "Decisive Conflicts."

"Modern military history proper," he writes, "may be said to commence with the XVII. century. Since then the Old World has been convulsed with three great wars, which, each in its turn, determined the fate of human progress; and our own continent with one.

"I The Thirty Years' War, necessary for the acknowledged establishment of freedom of religious belief.

*Thirty Years War, page 48.

“II The wars between William III. and Louis XIV., which lasted—for the interspaced peaces were only truces or breathing spells—about half a century, forty-three years. These arrested Romanism and Despotism, the influence of the Latin race and slave-thought, as opposed to that of the Saxo-Germanic race and free-thought. Their effects were momentous, and the result deeply affected America.

“III The wars which grew out of the French Revolution. These lasted twenty-three years; and if the fact is recalled that, although the mine was in Europe, the spark which occasioned the explosion came from America, they lasted forty years.

“IV Our great war was the American conflict to crush the Slaveholders’ Rebellion and liberate 4,000,000 of human beings and their descendants.

“What ended these wars? The ordinary answer will be ‘decisive battles.’ This, however, does not answer the question; for the solution, the real cause, lies deeper. The cause which rendered the battles decisive was exhaustion, and nothing but the exhaustion of the war-power of the South ended the ‘Slaveholders’ Rebellion.’ The hero of each of these wars was the general who perceived wherein lay the fountain of vitality, or of recuperative force in the enemy, and struck home.

“The general who in reality rendered the pacification of Germany possible was Torstenson.

“The ruling spirits of the second great war, alluded to, were William III., as a king and as a commander; Marlborough, as a diplomatist as well as a general; and Prince Eugene, as a leader and as a soldier; but without the first and the last the result must have been far different, since they threw themselves into the contest with a fierce energy, such as alone has its origin in personal feeling. The first was the soul of the initiative, and he gave such an impulse to men and events that, when his body had long since dissolved in the grave, his spirit was still equally potent in the council chamber and on the battle field.

“The wars of Frederic the Great were, in some respects, of import to humanity, in that they were to a certain extent religious wars for the emancipation of thought; wars to maintain the spirit of liberty against the crusades of coalesced Romanist and soul-tyrannizing powers. But Frederic—greatest among the great as a soldier, a tactician, a strategist, all that goes to make up a perfect soldier—himself had no such object in view.

“His first lure was a province and glory; afterward the aggrandizement of his house. His every thought was for Frederic; everything depended upon and around self. Men and means were nothing to him, except so far as they ministered to his ends. It is very questionable if even the arch-egotist, Napoleon, had a more thorough contempt for his kind, except so far as they could prove useful, than Frederic. What the one termed ‘cannon’s food,’ the other styled ‘pawns,’ and both held humanity equally cheap.

“The hero of the European wars which grew out of the American Revolution—for the French Revolution grew out of ours, as sure as the full day has its birth in the dawn—the hero, in the full sense of the word, was Blucher. He must divide the applause with Napoleon, for the frenzied ambition of the one to overthrow and crush all that opposed him was only exceeded by the fierce hatred of Blucher, and his thirst for vengeance, which could only be slaked in the overthrow and utter ruin of Napoleon, the oppressor and desolator of his native Germany.

“Blucher almost stands alone as a commander, in that personal influence which can carry nearly exhausted men on, after a battle, to an annihilating pursuit of the enemy, or from a doubtful or lost field to another fight as desperate as its predecessor. The fact is scarcely susceptible of discussion, that, without Blucher, the Allies would hardly have gone to Leipsic; would never have gone to Paris; would not have hunted Napoleon from his usurped throne; would not have sent him to his island prison, there to burn up through his own consuming



JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER
From Photograph taken in January, 1875

passions; and yet this same energetic, personally indomitable Blucher was, in 1806, driven into a position akin to that of Lee at Williamsport, and compelled to surrender through the same causes which must have compelled the Rebel army to capitulate had those conditions been duly taken into account—the want of ordnance stores for the fire-arms and cannon, the want of food for the men, the want of fodder for the horses.

“I never pretended to be a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but I have always claimed that, since ‘history is experience teaching by examples,’ it was necessary to oppose to the unanimous vigor, engendered by the hatred toward the North, which animated the Southern people, an energy and a fanaticism as potent as those influences which filled, upheld, and stimulated the Rebel armies: that the Rebels must be made to feel, and that they only could be made to feel by striking home; ‘by carrying on war to the bitter end,’ as Early did; by the destruction of their institutions and their substance, whose only bulwarks were their armies in the field.

“In an address delivered at Montpelier, Vermont, 20th October, 1863, I predicted that, with the destruction of the principal Rebel armies, the war would be at an end at once; that there would be no guerilla war, no farther resistance. In similar cases it always had been so: it was so in our case. Now the man in power who saw this (and could make other men see this) was Grant, and in his pertinacious working to that result his greatness consists. Grant is a great man, a very great man; immense in the indomitableness of his energy and his will. His comprehensive, prescient grasp of mind, and obstinacy, constitute him the hero of the war for suppressing the Slaveholders’ Rebellion.

“When the time had come for Napoleon to fall, then Blucher rose to independent command. Grant was like Blucher. He was very great in his correct estimate of what he could, and what the Rebels could not, stand. After the immense depletion of the Wilderness—campaign of 1864—he could actually make his iron will

serve as the substitute for the loss of strength through that depletion, appreciating that the Rebels could less afford to lose one than we to suffer the loss of three. In this comprehension of relative force, Grant was very great, a very great man and orderer.

“Grant never could have postponed for another day, and another field, and another battle, what was to be done and could be done then and there. Grant was ever of the same opinion of Blucher that ‘the neglect to utilize a victory to the utmost, involves, as an inevitable consequence, the fighting of a new battle, in which everything done (or won) may be undone (or lost).’ And even as Grant, and Thomas, and Sheridan were of the same opinion of Blucher, ‘der Alte Blucher’ was imbued with the sentiments of Frederic, and Marshal Saxe, and Torstenson, and of all the great captains and generals who have greatly succeeded, who have acted in accordance with the idea which Suwarrow formalized in the words, ‘*Stupay y bey!*’ ‘Advance and strike!’”

In the same work General de Peyster summarizes his judgment as to the decisive battles of our own great war.

“In 1865,” he says, “the writer contemplated the preparation of a ‘History of the Slave-holders’ Rebellion,’ which was to be written with the assistance of a Loyal Northerner, who was conscripted into the Rebel service and was present and wounded at Shiloh. He continued in the Rebel service, in one of the administrative departments, until the Autumn of 1863, when he escaped, and after encountering the greatest perils and sufferings, made his way into the Loyal lines of Burnside.

“We spent days together, it might be said weeks, comparing notes and authorities, and examining maps. The conclusion arrived at was this, that there were only two battles at the East which could be considered, in reality, as territorially decisive, Antietam and Gettysburg, although it cannot properly be said that the former was so, inasmuch as it required the second to settle the fate of the same district of country. At the West, however, he thought there were six territorially decisive

battles. The same remark might be said to apply to three of these, as to Antietam, were it not that the extent of territory was so vast that each of these battles settled the question as to a district almost sufficient for a European principality or second-rate kingdom.

“The six selected are as follows:

“First, Fort Donelson, Second Class. The capture of this Fort, February 16, 1862, was decisive, because it flanked Columbus, General and Bishop Polk’s great coigne of vantage, evacuated March 4th; and Bowling Green, Albert Sidney Johnston’s stronghold, abandoned February 14, 1862, and carried the Union lines down to the Memphis and Charleston Railroads.

“Second, Shiloh, First Class. It flanked Memphis, broke the connection between the Mississippi river and the Atlantic, and opened a way into the lower Mississippi Valley, through the middle counties of the State of Mississippi. In my calculation of cause and result, I rejected the capture of Fort Donelson from my list of conflicts, even as territorially decisive, since events required that Shiloh should be fought to secure or hold even what Fort Donelson, as an initiative, temporarily acquired. All that Shiloh actually insured, the Rebels never more regained.

“Third, Munfordsville, Second Class. This conflict settled the fate of Bragg’s Kentucky campaign adversely to that general—seeking, from an entirely new starting point, to reconquer all that Shiloh had lost for his party.

“The Autumn of 1862 was a momentous epoch in the West-North. The rebel invasion of the East-North had failed, contemporaneously with its failure at the West. About the same time that Lee started from Richmond northward, Bragg, with even better auspices, pushed forward in the same direction. Bragg had two objectives: one political, the other military. The former was entirely subordinate to, and dependent upon, the success of the latter. He resembled the dog with the meat, in the fable, who, crossing the stream by a bridge, saw the reflection of the meat in the water below, whereupon, to

grasp the ideal, he dropped the real. The shadow or reflection was the political reorganization of Kentucky; the meat was its reconquest.

“When he realized the true facts, the chances of victory (like the dog’s meat) had slipped from his jaws and were gone forever. The moment when this occurred was the engagement at Munfordsville, September 13th-17th, 1862. I put this down as the fifth second-class action. The admirable defence of New York’s son (from Ulster County), Colonel J. T. Wilder, commanding Seventeenth Indiana, gave Buell time to march to the menaced point. With the concentration of the Union forces, Bragg saw the game, both political and military, was up. Loaded with the booty of a campaign which promised to be decisive, but had degenerated into a vast raid, he commenced his retreat.

“This engagement, Munfordsville, insignificant as to the number on the loyal side, was vastly significant. It showed in the clearest light Bragg’s incapacity, as well as a General, as an administrator and as a politician, and through this, again, the inferior judgment power of Jefferson Davis himself in the selection of executive subordinates. Only a minority at the North, the reading and reasoning few, know how much the Union success is due to the arch-rebel’s sacrificing merit to favoritism, the material to the ideal. It was enough to make a reflecting man shudder to imagine the consequences which would have resulted from the substitution of Joe Johnston for Bragg.

“The battle of Perryville, or Chaplin Hills, fought 8th October, 1862, to save his plunder, is not dissimilar in many of its features to that of Gettysburg. In both cases, Lee and Bragg lost their laurels and prestige, but saved their trains. In both cases, Buell and Meade did not fight all or fight well their troops, were slack in their pursuit, and allowed the rebel armies to escape to organize, recuperate, and fight again.

“Fourth, Stone River, First Class, settled the destination of Middle Kentucky and Middle Tennessee, and

threw the Rebels east and south of the Appalachian Mountains. If any General ever deserved the thanks of a nation for a decisive success, in one of the darkest hours of its gloom, the North owes such gratitude to Rosecrans.

“Corinth, another previous victory of Rosecrans, October 3d and 4th, 1862, would have been equally propitious had the victor been permitted to press the pursuit, as he desired, had he received the reënforcements earnestly requested, had he been permitted to move on and occupy Vicksburg, as he pointedly suggested. Had he been permitted to act, or had he been listened to, a paroled army would not have been likely to meet us on the ‘river of death,’ in the November of the following year. At all events, so the writer has been informed.

“Fifth, Chattanooga. Under this generic title must be included Chattanooga first, or Chickamauga, due to Rosecrans; Lookout Mountain, attributable to the strategical prescience of Rosecrans and the execution of Hooker, and Chattanooga, second or proper, due to the assembled Generals and reënforced Army of the Cumberland. This series of engagements insured the possession of the key-point of the Middle West and South generally, the entrance-gate to Northern Georgia, and burst open the passes whose acquisition led to the conquest of the Cotton States.

“Chickamauga was indubitably a material victory. If Rosecrans fell short of perfect success it was not his fault, but the fault of the Washington war authorities. The Atlanta campaign was only the topping-out and roofing-in of the edifice whose walls were carried up from Nashville to Chattanooga, first. Not that this detracts a jot from Sherman; far otherwise. Rosecrans and Sherman are the Generals to whom the North can point with pride as their chief jewels, as their practical, tactical, all-combining, strategical, administrative captains. Thomas and Hooker flank them as the great executive officers.

“Rosecrans’ campaign of 1862 and 1863, from Nash-

ville to Chattanooga, was another decisive campaign of the war. Had Rosecrans been less able and less fortunate, Bragg would have been able to reënforce Joe Johnston and Vicksburg would not have fallen as it did. Vicksburg was not taken by the investment, but by the preliminary campaign. The result of that campaign was partly due to the paucity of the rebel army seeking to relieve Pemberton. That paucity of numbers was owing to the tight, unrelaxing hold Rosecrans kept on Bragg, a hold which, never relaxing, tightened and tightened more and more, until it cost the rebels Chattanooga, that key-point to which the views, the hopes, and the calculations of every able man and true patriot at the North had been directed from the very first opening of the war.

“Throughout this war there was scarcely any practical-strategy, on our side (except where Rosecrans commanded), until after Rosecrans had set the grand example in 1862-63; very little manœuvring on the battlefield, and, with only two or three exceptions, no harvesting of the seed sown in the blood of our soldiers, which was squandered with a ruthless prodigality that shocks the understanding. It is impossible to comprehend how such an intelligent rank and file could have submitted patiently to seeing their lives squandered as they were.

“Sixth, Nashville, First Class. Thomas’s victory over Hood settled the whole question, in the vast territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, and stands forth as the most immediately decisive battle of the war. No general can tear this crown from the brows of Thomas, or pluck one rose from the chaplet of his glory.

“Nashville, the final battle of the war (territorially decisive), was the Seven Years’ War Freyberg of our four years’ conflict, final as to effect, though there was plenty of sparring and manœuvring simultaneous and subsequent. It was one of those blows to rebellion that resemble the corresponding stroke in a fist fight, which knocks all the grit and wind out of a bruiser, while it leaves him just pluck enough to show fight, with closed

optics and almost arrested pulse, so as to get a few more rounds into a sporting account of 'the mill.'

"Nashville settled the question everywhere, except as to Richmond, and as regarded the Army of Northern Virginia. Time, circumstances, constriction and concentration disposed of that. Sherman understood that fact, when he gave his regiments the option of inscribing Nashville or Savannah, at will, upon their victorious banners.

"Thomas, victor of the great battle at Nashville, is a solid character, grand in its solidity. He reminds a military reader of the spotless Macdonald, not brilliant but always reliable."

CHAPTER XXXV

SHILOH

In the beginning of the war the Confederacy placed in command of the West its most promising general, Albert Sidney Johnston. Forestalled by Grant in seizing Cairo, at the mouth of the Ohio River, and Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee, Johnston established his line of defence across the State of Kentucky. His headquarters were at Bowling Green, in advance of Nashville, his main position.

A force under Crittenden, near Mill Springs, occupied Central Kentucky, while Zollicoffer, before Cumberland Gap, constituted Johnston's extreme right. The region he sought to defend was penetrated by the Cumberland, Tennessee, and Mississippi rivers, natural highways for the Union troops. To command these rivers, Johnston erected Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and on the Mississippi fortified Columbus, Island Number Ten and New Madrid.

Zollicoffer united with Crittenden at Mill Springs, early in January, 1861, and on the 19th of that month General George H. Thomas struck and completely routed their combined forces. Zollicoffer was killed. Crittenden, abandoning his trains and artillery, hurried across the Cumberland.

This blow by Thomas, which flung Johnstons' right wing out of Central Kentucky, was promptly followed by Grant's advance on Forts Henry and Donelson. Fort Henry surrendered 6 February, and Fort Donelson ten days later. The Confederate line, with its right hurled back by Thomas, and its centre crushed in by Grant, became untenable. Johnston fell back from Bowling Green, abandoned Nashville to the Union General, Buell, and evacuated Columbus on the Missis-

sippi. A little later, 14 March, New Madrid and Island Number Ten surrendered to General Pope.

The new line of defence established by Johnston stretched east and west, along the southern boundary line of Tennessee, from Chattanooga on the right, to Memphis and Fort Pillow on the left. Corinth, in Northern Mississippi, formed its centre. These points were all on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, a great trunk line through Atlanta and the heart of the Confederacy, possession of which was of the utmost importance to Johnston.

Intending to crush Johnston's new line, Grant transported his troops up the Tennessee to Pittsburgh Landing, Buell's army of thirty-seven thousand men meanwhile marching from Nashville to join him. Johnston, forty thousand strong, hurried north from Corinth to strike Grant before Buell's arrival.

Grant had an effective force of forty-five thousand men. Johnston's attack, 6 April, caught the Union generals napping. Grant himself was absent, while General W. H. L. Wallace, with nearly eight thousand troops, was at Crump's Landing, far in the rear. Johnston hurled himself against the corps of Sherman and Prentiss, the former lying west, and the latter east, of Shiloh Church. Behind Sherman lay McClernand's corps.

The troops of Sherman and Prentiss recoiled from Johnston's sudden and violent blow. Sherman was pushed back against McClernand, whose support enabled him to continue the fight, although obliged to relinquish Shiloh Church. Prentiss, however, was captured, and his corps crushed and disorganized. At this crisis Johnston was killed, and the folly of Beauregard, in postponing until the next day the completion of his task, permitted the reformation of Grant's battered corps, and their reënforcement by the opportune arrival of Buell.

General de Peyster was one of the first to present the battle of Shiloh in its true light. The comments which follow have been extracted from his "Decisive Conflicts," published soon after the war.

“Four battles in this war lifted a heavy weight from the heart of the writer, who had watched its progress with a critical, map-studying care, which has left the vividest impressions. The first was Shiloh, the second was Antietam, the third was Stone River, and the fourth was Gettysburg, or the campaign of Gettysburg; for, in the writer’s opinion, the battle in Pennsylvania was the culmination of the bloody fight of Chancellorsville, the Shiloh of the East, inasmuch as Stonewall Jackson, the right arm of armed rebellion, fell here, even as A. Sydney Johnston, its head, fell there. Such matters must be treated philosophically, as well as militarily, in history.

“Besides these two great leaders, these two battles consumed the flower of Southern fighting material. A. Sydney Johnston resembled Sherman and Rosecrans in the texture of his thought. He was peculiarly a strategist. Jackson was a thunderbolt, the best executive lieutenant of rebeldom, a genius, full of the breath of martial inspiration.

“If any battle of the rebellion comes up to the estimate of Creasy as to decisiveness, that battle was Shiloh. In many respects, it was the battle of the war. It disposed of the rebels’ best general, dissipated their highest hopes, reversed all their life-long learned theories. By their camp-fires, the rebel soldiers discussed, in after days, that conflict—drew conclusions which obliterated all their former traditional beliefs and ideas. With bitter oaths, an ear-witness reports, they were wont to exclaim: ‘Don’t tell us the Yanks won’t fight; we know how they fought at Shiloh!’ The South did not believe that the war really meant killing until after Donelson and Pittsburg Landing.

“April, 1862, was an awful month for the rebellion. Shiloh, April 7, 1862, decided the great question of the power of the Union to force the approaches of the Mississippi Valley from the north; that it could not be defended even by a great battle. In the fall of 1861 and winter of 1861-62, the writer was engaged in a lively correspondence with Maj.-Gen. Kearny (his cousin) in

regard to military key-points. In a letter dated February 11, 1862, he wrote: 'As to moral effect, Richmond is the objective point, but intrinsically New Orleans. The capture of Richmond is an ideal necessity, for mental effect, at home and abroad.'

"He then alluded to the enormous influence once inuring to the Dutch from their possession of the mouth of the Scheldt. Antwerp was ruined, the commerce of Germany check-mated, and Amsterdam and Rotterdam became the *entrepots* of Europe. Since Belgium regained free access to the sea, she has been gradually recovering her commercial prosperity. The Dutch ports are waning, and Antwerp is destined, perhaps, to absorb that vast commerce which once made Holland pre-eminent. The false estimate put upon New Orleans and Richmond shows how often the most astute politicians sacrifice the material to the ideal, and the people acquiesce in the delusion.

"April 24th and 26th, Farragut, 'the peerless,' captured New Orleans, bursting the vaunted barriers of the Mississippi from the south. From this time, February-May, 1862, dates the powerful influence, moral and material, of our Navy.

"Even as the strength of Sampson lay in the least likely portion of him, and the last to which men would have looked for the source, even so it seems to have been with regard to the Mississippi Valley, and the rebel comprehension of its importance. And even as Sampson lost his strength when shorn of his locks, even so rebeldom was deprived of its main resources when the Union flag floated victoriously over the Father of Waters, and flowed 'unvexed' from Cairo to the Gulf. If the rebels had fought for the Valley of the Mississippi as they fought for the possession of Virginia, heaven knows what would have been the result. Many of the rebels did see this: Davis could not see it; *ergo*, Davis was a square peg in a round hole.

"An officer who served in the West dropped in the other day and gave an account of the battle of Shiloh,

which, if correct, shows that, as generally received as true, Albert Sidney Johnston was, by odds, the greatest general the Rebels had. His plan for the battle and his manœuvring during the battle were faultless, and if he had lived to carry them out his certainty of success was assured.

“The position of Shiloh, or Pittsburgh Landing, was very important, inasmuch as it flanked Memphis and broke the connection of Memphis with the East. The result opened a way into the lower Mississippi Valley, *via* the middle counties of Mississippi.

“A. Sidney Johnston, the greatest general whom the South possessed at the beginning of the war, appreciated the importance of the battle he was about to deliver. Thither he drew together all the rebel divisions he could concentrate, to fall, in mass, upon Grant, exposed and ill-posted, for a decisive effort.

“Up to the moment of his fatal wounding, he was victorious. ‘A few’—less than an hour, it was said—‘minutes more of such energetic fight as he inaugurated,’ and the chances are that history would have had a far different tale to tell, and that he would have compelled Grant to surrender, or have driven him into the Tennessee. His successor, Beauregard—constitutionally weak, a mathematician born, great in theory and on paper, able to plan and feeble to execute—allowed the golden opportunity to slip through his fingers.

“He allowed the attack to slacken—a surging attack, whose fury was already checked by Webster’s crescent of artillery—and night closed a contest which Buell’s arrival converted, next day, from a rebel victory into a decisive rebel defeat.

“A. Sidney Johnston’s plan of attack was, in reality, the oblique order of battle—that is, in principle. He saw that the weak point of the Union line was Prentiss’s left. He knew the ground well, yes, perfectly well, and intended to amuse and engage the loyal right and centre, throw the weight of his force on Prentiss’s left, get in its rear, and continually throw off rear and flanking

attacks, even as Prentiss fell back up the ravines, which shot out like spurs from mountain ranges, penetrating the Union position. The configuration of the ground or ravine, through which Lick Creek empties itself, cannot be better represented than by a section of a 'silver' or what they call 'a ladder pine,' the 'main ravine representing the trunk, the spur-ravines the branches.

"As this oblique, and then flanking, attack progressed, A. Sidney Johnston intended to strip his left and centre, passing reënforcements behind the mask of battle or blind of fire, to his right, leaving only sufficient forces there to occupy McClelland's and Sherman's attention—to feed, strengthen, and support the main attack until he had massed his troops, on the left, far in the rear of the loyal line of battle; whence, advancing up along the river, he would cut them off completely from it, and 'bag the whole crowd.'

"Such a conception, carried out, as it was, as long as A. Sidney Johnston lived, was worthy of the real father of modern oblique attacks, Frederic of Prussia. It was in the full tide of success when a bullet (according to one account, according to another, a piece of a shell) put an end to the greatest military brain and life of Rebeldom.

"Two hours' irresolution on the part of Beauregard saved Grant, Tennessee and Kentucky. Johnston, dying, sent Preston, his brother-in-law and confidential aide, to Beauregard to communicate to him his plans, his complete success on the Rebel right, the utter disorganization of the loyal left, and his exhortation to feed the attack, to give the Federals no respite, and to assure him, that, if he did so, the most decisive victory was certain. 'Forward!' was the whole gist of Johnston's dying words. 'Tomorrow [alas, those confident tomorrows!] we will complete our triumph,' was the sense of Beauregard's answer, as far as men can judge from reports and results.

"He wasted hours, when minutes were of importance. From two to four hours were thus and there utterly lost. He permitted the daylight to glide away unim-

proved. This delay enabled Grant, about four P. M., to form his last line, compact and well posted, and Webster to dispose of his cannon on a ridge near the river. This line, and the fire of their heavy guns, arrested Beauregard's resumed attack. Night brought safety and Buell.

"Night closed in; the Union army was saved; the Border States were secure; Buell had arrived, and the first first-class decisive battle of the war had been fought; a battle, which, if it had gone otherwise, would most likely have changed the destiny of our nation.

"God had been with us and had fought for us. The mortal light of the great strategical brain of the Rebellion was extinguished; no other did or could take its place; and although ordinary minds may be incapable of estimating the effect of our success in this battle, it was *the* battle, and the decisive battle, at the West."

CHAPTER XXXVI

SOUTH MOUNTAIN AND ANTIETAM

Gloom and despondency had seized the North. McClellan's Peninsular Campaign, after long and laborious preparation and a mighty blare of trumpets, in June and July, 1861, had utterly collapsed. Its unpalatable fruits were Fair Oaks, the Seven Days' Fight, and the sullen retreat of the Army of the Potomac, having sacrificed sixteen thousand soldiers. Immediately following, in August, Pope's new Army of Virginia had also been outgeneralled, pounded, and thrown back, from Cedar Mountain to Chantilly, with the loss of "fighting Phil" Kearny and fourteen thousand men.

Upon the heels of these disasters, the end of August and early days of September bring startling tidings that Buell and Kirby Smith have burst into Tennessee and Kentucky, the former rushing upon Louisville, and the latter upon Cincinnati. At this moment of anguish and suspense, Lee fills up the cup. Throwing his victorious host across the Potomac, he invades Maryland. The North stands aghast.

Such are the black clouds through which the battles of South Mountain, 14 September, and of Antietam, 16 and 17 September, are to make a rift, letting in a beam of light and hope.

McClellan, at Frederick, Maryland, with the Army of the Potomac, on 12 December obtains a copy of Lee's order of march. It reveals the disposition of Lee's army—divided, with Jackson at Harper's Ferry across the Potomac. By promptly pushing through the unoccupied passes of South Mountain, we can fall in force upon Longstreet. McClellan dallies. When he starts, forty-eight hours later, the enemy holds the passes. Hill is in Turner's Gap, Cobb is in Crampton's. In the fight

which follows, Hooker and Reno dispossess Hill, and Franklin does as much with Cobb. We lose eighteen hundred men, but capture twelve hundred prisoners.

This, in brief, is the battle of South Mountain. The following comment by General de Peyster has been extracted from his "Decisive Conflicts."

"The three simultaneous and victorious engagements known as the battle of South Mountain (Sunday, September 14, 1862,) the forcing of Turner's Gap, to the right or north, by Hooker; of Fox Gap, in the centre, by Reno, and of Crampton's Gap, to the left or south, by Franklin, is one of the brightest pages in the checkered history of the Army of the Potomac.

"If General Burnside was in command at South Mountain proper, i.e., Turner's Gap, and fought the battle, as his biographer claims, that is, directed the grand-tactical movements, he deserves great praise. The strategy prior to it belongs to McClellan, but, as has been truly observed, even as Lee's successes over Pope were due to the capture of the latter's despatch-book (August 22d), at Catlett's Station, by Stuart, even so—by a parity of judgment—the favorable issue of McClellan's operations against Lee must be ascribed to the accidental discovery of Lee's order in Frederick City, September 12th.

"In fact, McClellan could not have acted otherwise than he did, unless he was entirely destitute of military ability. Nevertheless, while the discovery of this order in Hill's deserted camp—occupied in turn by Williams' corps (the 12th)—enabled him to frustrate the Rebel invasion of that year, this accident, in any other hands but those of such an 'Athelstan, the Unready,' would have enabled him, without the slaughter of South Mountain, to sever the Rebel army in twain, and either crush, or disperse, or capture the greater part of either fragment, or both.

"South Mountain is highly creditable to all who participated in it except the commander-in-chief, since he failed to profit by its success. Had he been the superior

man, which his friends claimed that he was, this battle need not have been fought at all. Had he pressed on from Frederick, with only second-rate generalship celerity, he could have mastered and marched through the gaps before the Rebels occupied the crests of the mountain in force. In this case he could have gained, by celerity, all that he was afterward compelled to win by hard fighting.

“Having fought and won, he should have profited by his success, and have attacked Lee, following close upon the heels of the Rebels defeated at South Mountain, and before Lee could be reënforced by the troops which captured Harper’s Ferry. This would have deprived Lee of the services of Jackson, in himself a host, equivalent to a division of ten thousand men, and of those of Hill, equivalent to a brigade.

“Through mismanagement, or through whatever cause to which it may be attributed, the Army of Northern Virginia had driven the Army of the Potomac, or at all events, had fought sufficiently well to find itself, back beyond the point from which it had started, upward of a year previous; and now to see that same Union army, so maltreated, so mishandled, so misjudged, climbing those rugged heights and advancing to the attack as calmly as if they had never met with a check or experienced a disaster, was something perfectly sublime. If no further than this, South Mountain was decisive in first showing to their countrymen and to the world of what glorious stuff the rank and file of the ‘Army of the Potomac’ was composed.

“The summary of the whole matter seems to be that the Union success was won in a fair stand-up fight, if such an expression can be applied to an attack made upon a mountain position, and principally in the woods. The grand-tactics were elegant, but there were no strategical movements, for if the Rebels did not hold Braddock’s Gap in force (which, after consulting every authority available, it does not appear that they did), Rosecrans or Sherman, with such a superiority of

numbers as McClellan had at his disposal, would have detached a strong column through that gap, which would have turned the enemy out of their positions.

“Had such a movement been made, while the Rebels were strongly assaulted in front, and their attention fully occupied, it must have resulted in the capture of large numbers of prisoners, and the greater part, if not the whole, of their material. Hooker did, in a measure, turn Hill or Longstreet by occupying or winning the crest or peak, a key-point, to the north and right of the ‘Mountain House,’ but this was done, not by strategy or strategem, but in open view and under fire both of artillery and infantry.

“In regard to strategic movements, there never was a finer chance than at South Mountain, since, as the stage of battle rose gradually from the Catoctin Valley, the Commanding General, west of Middletown, could make out the enemy’s position by their line of fire, particularly toward evening, when the setting sun left the eastern slope of the mountain in shadow. Nor was the ascent of the mountain so difficult that flanking movements could not have been made with comparative ease and certainty. This could have been done, since our forces were to those of the Rebels as, at least, four to one, in the early afternoon—at no time less than two to one; and as the other divisions of the army came up, successively, toward sunset, three to one.

“On the night of the 14-15th of September, 1862, Burnside was the master of Turner’s and Fox Gaps, and, with morning, could descend into Boonsboro Valley and follow up Lee. Notwithstanding our losses, he had still 28,000 men with him to press the defeated enemy, and could be rapidly supported by as many more, if the General-in-chief so willed. At this time Lee had not over 25,000 to 27,000 in fine fighting condition: otherwise they were in a sorry plight. As some evidence of the latter’s weakness, even when he reached the Antietam, on the 16th, he was forced to retire or was ‘driven back so soon as our men get into position.’

“To those who have read military history with attention, comparing dates and maps, such hesitation seems inexplicable, when contrasted with the energy and expeditiousness of generals such as Jackson, Longstreet, and Hill, whose conduct invested them with commands in the Southern army as important as that of corps commanders in the Northern. Then when the student visits the theatre of action, and traverses its scenes, the contrast between the action of the opposing generals seems still more strange and inexplicable. Witness the marches of Jackson, Longstreet, Hill, and others, as compared with our own, in this campaign. The whole success of this campaign turned upon the question, simple and pure, of time.

“Had the Union general attacked the Rebels on the 16th, he must have overwhelmed him with numbers and superiority of artillery. Lee did not make the most of the ground on the 17th, but nothing could exceed the conduct of his subordinate generals and the Rebel troops. Less, however, cannot be said of the Union troops, for they did better than well.”

The battle of Antietam, 16 and 17 September, follows close upon South Mountain; but not so close as it should have done. McClellan's delay permits Jackson to capture Harper's Ferry, taking eleven thousand prisoners, and with part of his corps to rejoin Lee on the sixteenth, the rest of his men reaching the field on the second day of battle.

Lee takes a strong position before Sharpsburg, his lines lying north and south, between the Potomac, at his rear, and Antietam Creek at his front. Hooker, Mansfield and Sumner form the Union right, Porter the centre, Burnside the left. Against Lee's fifty-five thousand men, McClellan has eighty-seven thousand; but, unfortunately, he succeeds in bringing only about two-thirds of his force into play, and fights these by successive columns instead of in concert.

Hooker, beginning the battle on the sixteenth, pushes the enemy back. On the second day Lee presents a new

line, in the rear of his former position. It is assaulted again and again by the different corps of the Union right. By three o'clock both sides are exhausted. Meanwhile, on the left, Burnside has done nothing. Not until this moment is his corps well across the Antietam. It is too late. The balance of Jackson's men are there to meet him.

In the two days' fight we lose more than twelve thousand men, Lee over ten thousand. On the eighteenth the Confederates withdraw. Scarcely disturbed by McClellan's lame apology for pursuit, they cross the Potomac in safety. Nevertheless, Lee has been repulsed; his "invasion" is a thing of the past; though it has cost both sides the bloodiest battle, after Shiloh, the war has so far seen.

For the critic the mooted point connected with Antietam is Burnside's failure to make headway against the small force in his front. Ordered to cross the Antietam at seven in the morning, he is scarcely in his allotted place by the middle of the afternoon. General de Peyster's criticisms are taken from "Decisive Conflicts."

"Antietam was the second decisive battle, inasmuch as it arrested the rebel invasion of the East-North, and threw its main army, discomfited, back across the Potomac. The organizative, not the strategic, initiatory steps to this battle reflect credit on McClellan; the practical strategic prelude, the battle itself, and its consequences, none. Even as coming events are said to cast their shadow before, McClellan's conduct before Yorktown and Williamsburg was indicative of his conduct at Antietam. He could set the ball in motion, but he seemed incapable of regulating its course, or of giving it sufficient momentum to do more than strike the object. That the object (Lee's army) went down was due to the weight of the ball—not to the momentum it had received.

"McClellan should have gained one of the most decisive of victories at the Antietam; and he must have won it had he 'put in' all his troops, either coherently, or at the crisis, or later in the day.

“In considering Burnside’s action in this battle, the only thing which can be urged in his excuse is the natural difficulties of the ground, which his—the Ninth—corps had to overcome.

“A general-in-chief, or a general exercising a comparatively independent command, cannot plead the same excuses as a mere subordinate-executive. The latter is face to face with dangers which the other surveys from a safe and often distant standpoint. The one has to meet and overcome what the other only takes into his calculations without being able, tangibly, to appreciate the difficulties and perils. Thus, the often-mooted question of whether Burnside did or did not do his duty, is a very delicate one for even the best read and most acute thinker on military subjects.

“The whole would seem to resolve itself into whether the Rebels held the position opposite the bridge, No. 3, in sufficient force to avail themselves of the natural capabilities of the ground. That ground, as described, is very defensible, and appears worse than it is until the surroundings have been actually reconnoitred, even although the examiner is a ‘civilian.’ In many respects it might be termed—especially the road—a regular trap. It was not defended in force, however.

“If the approach to the bridge on the right bank—a natural bridge—were not strongly occupied, then Burnside’s task was not, by any means, a difficult one. Not to have discovered this by an attack, or by feeling it, early in the morning of the 17th, in obedience to orders, throws the responsibility upon Burnside. When the bridge and opposite heights were actually carried, then Burnside’s task, properly speaking, was over.

“If the Ninth Corps had won the heights which command Sharpsburg, as they could have done, two hours before they did occupy them, and made use of their success, the battle of Antietam must have been a disastrous defeat to the Rebels. That the Ninth Corps lost very heavily, nearly as heavily as Hooker’s, has little to do with carrying the bridge, since it would appear that

the great loss was sustained at the hands of Hill's division, which did not come up until Burnside had gained a position which 12,500 to 13,500 men certainly ought to have held against 4,000.

"Reflecting upon the severe judgment passed by many upon Burnside's hesitation, and to give him all due credit of overcare for his men at Antietam, the question occurs, did not the blame which he incurred at the Antietam make him so prodigal of life at Fredericksburg, first? Yet what was the slaughter of Fredericksburg, after all, to that of the Wilderness, for which Grant is praised, while Burnside is severely censured?

"The battle of Antietam was a feat of arms most creditable to the Rebels, and glorious both to their generals and troops; and just as honorable to our own brave men, who were fought in driblets, and in driblets wasted. The Rebel divisions were grandly handled by their commanders, and the men fought accordingly. The majority of our troops did all that men could do to crush the Rebel army. McClellan's plan was good enough, had he been competent to regulate the force at his command, and make his subordinates work in, and work together, to carry out that plan with some coherence of action.

"Take it all in all, remembering the dark cloud which hung over the North when our shattered but not conquered hosts reeled, fighting even to the last, with their faces to the foe, back within the lines about Washington, South Mountain beamed like an aurora on that night of bloody travail of the soul, and Antietam burst upon the tense feelings of the North like daylight on a night of tempest—a glorious victory for our true and undaunted soldiers.

"It would seem as if Lee's invasion of Maryland, in 1862, was defeated in a far greater degree by the moral aspect of the population than by his actual defeats in the field. The immobility of the people, their non-responsiveness to Lee's polished appeal and the frantic call of their own ultra Rebels, both among the invaders

and in their midst, as well as the mute canvass of the actual presence of the victorious Army of Northern Virginia, must have chilled the most ardent hopes of those who had urged the invasion. 'My Maryland' did not move, or, if it did move, the mountain of Southern expectation, in labor, produced as small a result as in the fable.

"This meagre return for so much toil, suffering, and blood; so many battles, marches, and privations, froze the hopes of the South, traversed every calculation, and disconcerted every preconceived idea. The aggressive movement of 1862 was too late. It might have succeeded in 1861. In 1862 it was the attempt of a hunter to tear his prey from a lion which had been irritated, not maimed, by a wound. It was not the first case of too tardy coöperation with a revolutionary element.

"So it was in 1745-6, when the Pretender invaded England. The very classes to whom he trusted for reënforcements, even as Lee counted upon the secessionists of Maryland, looked on silently, but gave no sign. The English, in 1745, were not more absolutely loyal to the House of Hanover than the majority of the Marylanders to the Republican administration. Neither were the former more inclined to risk anything for the House of Stuart than the latter for the Government at Richmond. Both yielded obedience to the established authority. Neither would budge until a decisive victory had made it safe and profitable to join the winning side of the invader.

"The English did not recoil with more antipathy from those 'wild, petticoat men,' repulsive in their partial nakedness and unkempt savageness, who came among them, in arms, to restore the good old times, than did the people of Maryland from that ragged, barefooted and dirty army of liberation which came to reëstablish the time-honored institution of slavery. The very fire of the enthusiasm of both was terrible to settled and industrious communities."

"In both cases, the reeking uncleanness of both

invading armies, in tatters, made them repugnant to the populations among which they appeared, and awakened a feeling of dislike, and even horror. If dirt, and rags, and bleeding feet, starvation, wounds and death were the rewards of actual fidelity, and empty glory, or honor, the sole visible return, was it strange that the English of 1745-6, and the Marylanders of 1862-3 reasoned with Falstaff, 'therefore, I'll have none of it'?"

CHAPTER XXXVII

FREDERICKSBURG

After Antietam, for several weeks, McClellan lies at Harper's Ferry, while Stuart's cavalry, dashing into Maryland and Pennsylvania, passes completely around him. McClellan crosses the Potomac, 26 October. By 6 November the Army of the Potomac, one hundred and twenty-two thousand strong, is concentrated at Warrenton, Virginia. Here Burnside supersedes McClellan.

Burnside, north of the Rappahannock, plans a demonstration against Lee by way of Fredericksburg, south of the river. He reaches Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg, 16 November. The stream is low. Instead of fording it and instantly seizing Fredericksburg, he sits down until 10 December, idly waiting for the pontoons Halleck has promised.

With the first tidings of Burnside's movement, Lee hastens to Fredericksburg. While Burnside dallies, Lee fortifies Marye's Heights, behind Fredericksburg, with three lines of strong works, at the same time assembling seventy-four thousand men.

Burnside's army has three grand divisions, under Sumner, Hooker and Franklin. Leaving the centre division—Hooker's—on the north side, the right, under Sumner, and the left, under Franklin, cross the river under fire, 10 to 13 December. The action opens, 13 December, with a hot artillery duel. Then, from Franklin's division on our left, Reynold's men, led by Meade, splendidly assault Lee's right. Mad as is the attempt, we actually drive back Hill's entrenched line. Alas! Franklin fails to support his gallant men, and Early rolls them back.

Sumner's division, on our right, finds in its front, in addition to Lee's triple works, a stone wall and two

canals. Undaunted, again and again our men rush forward. French is stopped by the stone wall—then Hancock. Hooker crosses the Rappahannock, and Humphreys assaults the pitiless barrier—once, twice—his heroes shouting and singing. Six times we attempt the impregnable works; six times we brave the galling flame from Lee's sheltered guns and muskets. Never, until this day, has the world seen such an exploit. To the volunteer armies of our republic it was left to furnish soldiers cast in such a mould.

With ranks thinned by the loss of eleven thousand men, Burnside's gallant corps, withdrawing to Fredericksburg, recross the Rappahannock. By all canons, Lee should charge them. But, no, he has no stomach for it. He has witnessed an incredible thing, and, stunned, he clings to his defences.

General de Peyster's comments upon Fredericksburg, which follow, are from his "Decisive Conflicts." He foretold the issue, when Burnside first reached Falmouth. Nevertheless, of all our writers, perhaps, he is fairest to our reckless general, as he is most appreciative of our valorous men.

"Perhaps no antagonistic generals ever enjoyed better opportunities of surveying the field, on which they had to deliver and receive battle, than Burnside and Lee at Fredericksburg. Before the one, standing in front of the Phillips or Lacy House, looking west, and the other occupying the highest elevation of the range known as Marye's Heights, looking east, the ground was spread out like an isometrical map, and the battle developed itself like a panorama.

"At Fredericksburg the Confederates had every advantage in their favor, a very strong position, a thorough knowledge of that position, the most reliable information of our every movement, numbers not so inferior, if the truth could be reached, and entity of command: that is, oneness of sentiment and will throughout the generals, from Lee down, which was not the case, generally, in our army, and was far from the case in the action under consideration.

“There has been a great deal of talk about the intrepidity displayed by the Southerners in assaulting our position at Gettysburg. It was indeed very great. Perhaps European military annals present few, if any, as grand examples. But it did not approach to the magnificence of the Union attacks at Fredericksburg.

“The Confederates charged once, and were annihilated. Their charge was sublime, but it was not repeated; whereas Northerners seem to forget that, at Fredericksburg, their brethren charged six times against a position many times stronger than Cemetery Ridge—yea, as many times stronger as they repeated their attempts—and retired (one division, Humphreys, we know did) singing and hurraing: something to which it would puzzle students of military history to find a parallel.

“In their admiration for the gallantry of the enemy, Northerners are too prone to forget the greater gallantry of their own ‘Boys in Blue.’

“The battle of Fredericksburg would have been a victory, could fiery courage have overcome material obstacles. Never in the history of war have brave men dashed themselves with more undaunted valor against the barriers of death, than those who, like Humphrey’s division, again and again, six times, charged into a volcano vomiting forth destruction.

“What men could do, the Union right did, while the left stood inactive and scarcely made a sign, except the meteoric blaze of Meade.

“The gradual accumulation of testimony, and development of the details of this bloody conflict, seem to preclude any doubt but that, if Franklin had attacked with vigor; had supported, adequately, Meade’s brilliant charge, which perforated the enemy’s line; and employed to advantage the vast force at his disposal, he must have carried the heights, in his front, turned the enemy’s positions and made Fredericksburg a glorious success for the Union arms.

“To what extent it would have been decisive would have depended, in a great measure, on how far Lee

persevered in his resistance; since, unless absolutely routed, he could have made an advantageous retreat through the country in his rear, which presents a succession of positions susceptible of easy and protracted defense. What the North wanted, however, at that time, was not so much a complete victory, as a triumph, which the world would accept as such, since the 'glorious but luckless' Army of the Potomac had only the barren results of Antietam, in which all that was gained was the possession of the battlefield, and the partial, though splendid affairs of Williamsburg and South Mountain—the last two rendered utterly resultless, through the overcaution of McClellan—to set off against the series of victories which had crowned the banners of its rival, the better handled and more fortunate 'Army of Northern Virginia.'

"The general to whom our reverse seems chiefly due, appears to excuse himself for his inaction, or partial action, on the plea that he was not justified in making a more decided attack, by the ambiguous or flaccid orders of his superior. (Greeley, Vol. II, p. 346.) In other words, that he was only to demonstrate.

"Such a plea seems out of place, in an officer of so much acknowledged ability. He should have recollected that a number of the most important victories in modern times were won in direct contravention of orders; that, in other cases, equally fortunate results followed the conversion of a demonstration into a direct attack; that, in many cases, the judgment of an inferior, on the spot, as to the moment for a charge, proved more judicious than that of a superior, at a distance; and that disobedience, when founded on capacity to decide, self-sacrificing assumption of responsibility, and patriotic decision, has oftentimes been in reality (paradox as it seems) the most faithful obedience. The instances belonging to each of the above different categories of action are so numerous and startling that, if collected, they would constitute quite a large and curious military work.

"Concede that Burnside had given Franklin positive

orders not to attack; should even that have justified the subordinate in not making an attack, in case that accidents should have revealed to him a change in the circumstances upon which the original orders were predicated? Did not the success of Meade's gallant charge operate exactly in such a manner as to be equivalent to such a change?

"Franklin had half the Union army at his disposition, and, with fifty to sixty thousand troops in hand, made an attack with a single division, and that, too, without adequate support! If intended even as a demonstration, it was not made in force sufficient; and no demonstration should have been allowed to involve itself so deeply as it did in Meade's attack. The moment that it gave the slightest indication of a successful result, even a demonstration should have been converted into something more decided: a diversion, an engagement, with the entire force in hand, except as understood, the proper reserve.

"The ground was sufficiently open, and the position of the enemy distinct enough to follow the movements of the attack; and it must have been clear that, as long as the attention of the Confederates was kept upon their left, by lively and quickly repeated assaults, they would not have dared to strengthen their right at the expense of their hard-pressed or lively engaged left.

"Too much credit cannot be given to the charge of General Meade, and it is the writer's firm conviction, after a visit to the field, that the event would have been a victory, had he been supported in force, and in time. It is doubtful if it would have been such a victory as the second Corinth, or Chattanooga, or Cedar Creek, or Nashville; but it would have been one of the same class as Shiloh, Stone River, Antietam, or Gettysburg, of which the former two could not be made more complete, on account of the weather, and circumstances beyond human control; and of which the latter two were not made complete by those who had the control.

"The more this matter is investigated, the less blame will attach to Burnside, and also the less credit to Lee.

“Burnside is to blame, because he had not made himself sufficiently acquainted with the obstacles which he had to overcome on his right. There his troops did all that men could do, and if every general had charged like Humphreys, even Marye’s Heights would have been carried.

“An English critic of considerable observation and great research, attributes Burnside’s failure to his imperfect information with regard to the enemy’s defenses. Even Lee admits that ‘six times did the enemy, notwithstanding the havoc caused by our batteries, press on with great determination, to within one hundred yards of the foot of the hill;’ that is, up to that terrible sunken road, as strong as any defensive work that could have been planned and executed by the ablest engineers.

“But Burnside must be held blameless for everything which occurred on the left, where Franklin had from fifty-five to sixty thousand men.”

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE PLAN OF CHANCELLORSVILLE

Burnside's failure against Fredericksburg was followed, in January, 1863, by a bootless attempt to flank Lee's left—the notorious "mud march." His army became disheartened and disorganized. Discipline almost ceased. The enormous number of eighty-five thousand men and officers appear upon the rolls as absent without leave. In the latter part of January Burnside was relieved, Hooker succeeding him.

From this time until the end of April Hooker carried on the brilliant work of reorganization which made the Army of the Potomac the best fighting machine it had ever been. It lay in its camp, at Falmouth, with Lee across the river upon the formidable heights behind Fredericksburg. At the end of April Hooker made his first moves in the Chancellorsville campaign.

Chancellorsville, the most complex, from the critic's standpoint, is the most interesting battle of the war. It is the most difficult to comprehend. We have chosen, therefore, to give a somewhat extended review of it from the pen of General de Peyster. He alone fully grasps and appreciates the strategy of the campaign, and he alone weighs the merits and mistakes of Hooker in a just balance. The account given here is from "Chancellorsville and its Results," in "Decisive Conflicts," and the series of articles on "Chancellorsville" which appeared in "Onward" in 1869-70. The remainder of this chapter, and all of the three following, are in General de Peyster's words.

"The Army of the Potomac, which had been organized in the fall of 1861, with so much enthusiasm and so profuse an expenditure of capital, and which, under capable and energetic leaders, independent of bureau

control, might have accomplished so much, now received another General-in-Chief. The unready McClellan, who had damped its enthusiasm and dashed its hopes, had been removed. The gallant Kearny, who was destined to the command, had fallen a victim to his undaunted courage and his untiring military enterprise. The patriotic Burnside, with good intentions but bad strategy, had thrust it across the Rappahannock, and, beneath the batteries of the foe, to a useless butchery, and now General Joseph Hooker, who had shown himself the most able, the most earnest and energetic of all the corps commanders, assumed its leadership.

“Few men have been more misrepresented than Hooker. The popular mind has been deceived, and has deceived itself, with the idea that he is no more than a reliable fighting subordinate, whereas few commanders, in any part of the great struggle, have shown better organizing and strategical abilities.

“Hooker received the Army of the Potomac in a shattered and disorganized condition.

“To convert this weary and demoralized mass into a vigorous army, capable of aggressive enterprise, required a leader like this general, whose record commenced with his unconquerable tenacity at Williamsburgh, continued, without shade throughout the bloody ‘seven days before Richmond,’ and shone with new lustre on the ghastly plains of Bull Run and the gory hill-sides of Antietam. The spirit displayed on these fields was soon felt by an Army, which, although it had always been true to itself, had always seen its best efforts wasted and fruitless. He at once introduced a thoroughness of system and a vigilance of detail which made the Rebel commander admit that he was never kept so much on the alert during any period of his command.

“Before his accession the outpost service had been totally unreliable. Hooker at once threw around his army such a circle of eclaireurs, videttes, and pickets as to make it a perfect sensitive plant. While he continued in command, none of those disgraceful surprises occurred

which had before given rise, in military minds, to the question whether the Federal Armies had any picket lines at all. Nor did any cavalry raid swoop down upon his source of supply, as Stuart had done at the White House; as Wheeler had done at Murfreesboro; as Stonewall Jackson had done at Manassas Junction, and as Forest and Morgan so often did in the operations west of the mountains.

“Moreover, the distinguishing badges by which corps, divisions, and brigades were designated with simplicity and clearness were first applied by Hooker to his command. Before his system was adopted, marauders or stragglers were not recognizable; henceforward it was otherwise. His system, confined at first to the Army of the Potomac, then transferred to the fields of Georgia, and adopted by the brave troops of the West, was finally adopted throughout the Federal forces. Finally, the organization and efficiency of the Federal cavalry is a rose which no envy can pluck from the chaplet of Hooker’s achievements.

“The general orders of Hooker, at this period of his command, furnish at once a text-book for the military student, and the best insight into the character and views of the commander. Much, doubtless, was attributable to his able and hardworking Chief of Staff, General Butterfield, but it was due principally to the courtesy and justice of his chief that the abilities of the subordinate were allowed to exercise a marked influence, and make themselves felt in all parts of the organization.

“In these labors of recuperation and reinvigoration three months passed away. The spring winds and the warm sun of April had dried the Virginia roads, and, as much from the promptings of his constitutional audacity and enterprise, as in obedience to suggestions from Washington, Hooker determined upon a bold initiative.

“His plan embraced nothing less than the defeat and destruction of the entire Rebel force. This end he proposed to accomplish by sending his cavalry force, some

13,000 strong, across the upper Rappahannock, to advance on the communications of the enemy by the Fredericksburgh line, and check or cut off his retreat over those lines. 'If you cannot cut off from his column large slices,' says Hooker in his instructions to Stoneman, 'the general desires that you will not fail to take small ones. Let your watchword be Fight! *Fight!* FIGHT! bearing in mind that time is as valuable to the general as Rebel carcasses.'

"With these instructions to Stoneman, the commanding general proceeded, as soon as infantry movements were practicable, to develop his masterly plan for crossing the Rappahannock and throwing a strong force on the enemy's line of retreat.

"The war had been raging for two years, and great exploits had illustrated our annals on both sides of the struggle and on each side of the Alleghanies; but military authorities agree that, up to that time, no operation on the part of the Federal forces manifested higher military qualities, or is more instructive, on account of the secrecy, rapidity and energy of the different movements.

"On the 20th of April Hooker lay at Falmouth with seven corps, numbering about 16,000 in each corps, or 112,000 in all. Of these, a remarkably clear-headed corps commander estimated that not over 80,000 were effectives. Lee was on the south side of the river, strongly entrenched on the hills back of Fredericksburgh, with detached forces at Port Royal, and others at the United States Ford and Banks' Ford above Fredericksburgh, holding thus a line of observation on the river of about thirty miles.

Lee's force was, probably, about 100,000; that is, counting all he could control. Babcock estimates his force, in face of Hooker, at 84,800—15,600 before Peck at Suffolk—69,200. His force has been estimated at from about 50,000 to about 85,000, and at even more. One corps was commanded by Stonewall Jackson, which was, of itself, an assurance that Hooker might expect

vigorous opposition as soon as the river was crossed, or while in the act of crossing, and that flank movements of great vigor and dash would probably be undertaken and perhaps executed.

“The strategy of the Federal commander was, of course, to deceive the Rebel commander as to the point where the principal movement was to be made, and to throw his force across the river at some unguarded point. This plan was undertaken and successfully carried out as follows: The main army of Lee was behind the field-works near Fredericksburgh, and the manœuvre of Hooker was so calculated as to induce Lee to suppose that another front attack was intended, and that he had only to fight Burnside’s battle of Fredericksburgh, of December, over again.

“On the night of Monday, the 27th, Sedgwick’s and Reynolds’s corps quitted their encampment and moved to positions two miles and three and a half miles below Fredericksburgh, where, early on Tuesday morning, they commenced operations. Under the concealment of a thick fog Sedgwick had his pontoons taken from their trains, and had them carried down on the men’s shoulders to the water, where they were noiselessly launched.

“These were immediately manned by troops, who, rowing rapidly over, succeeded in capturing, with small loss, the Rebel detachments who were disposed in double rows of rifle-pits, and guarding the fords. A lodgment having thus been effected on the south side of the river, at two points, brigades passed over, rifle-pits were thrown up, which were strengthened by earthen parapets, and bridges were immediately commenced in the rear. Sedgwick very soon had three bridges completed, and Reynolds two, on which one division from each corps crossed the river, and set to work immediately to strengthen the earthworks on the south bank.

“While this was being accomplished at the river, the four remaining divisions of the two corps, on the north bank, practiced an ingenious ruse, the effect of which

was to make Lee believe that the greater part of the Northern Army was intending to cross at this point. The configuration of the ground was such that Lee could not see the bridges, neither could he see the four divisions on the north bank, which was screened by a fringe of hills. The troops were now put in motion, and, mounting the ridge, marched along its top in full view of the Confederates, and then dipped out of sight in the direction of the bridges.

“Instead of crossing, however, as the Confederates supposed, they turned back through a gulley and reached the back side of the hill, came around again to the top, and again dipped out of sight towards the bridges as before, the artillery and wagon-trains following in their rear, until the Confederates had seen an array of armed men, with artillery and trains, defile before them, and pass down to the river, which they had every reason to suppose outnumbered the host with which Burnside had advanced against them on nearly the same ground in December.

“This ruse, similar to that practised by Torstenson, the night before his crowning victory at Janikau, 6th March, 1645, had the desired effect, for in two hours Jackson was seen marching from the direction of Port Royal, and concentrating on Fredericksburgh. Meantime, the real advance towards Richmond, and the serious movement in the Rebel rear, was being carried on in a different quarter. On Sunday, the 26th, Meade’s, Howard’s and Slocum’s corps, being the Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth, broke camp at Falmouth, and marched up the river, and so far in its rear as to be protected from observation by woods and broken grounds, their destination being Kelly’s Ford on the Rappahannock, some twenty miles up stream.

“On Monday, Couch’s corps marched up stream also, their destination being the United States Ford, just below the confluence of the Rapidan with the Rappahannock, and twelve miles above Fredericksburgh. Sickles’ corps was stationed near Banks’ Ford, for the purpose of main-

taining the connection between the separated wings of the Federal force, and covering the base of supply and communication.

“Early on Tuesday morning, the 28th, Meade, Slocum, and Howard reached Kelly’s Ford, and commenced the construction of a pontoon bridge, on which they crossed the Rappahannock that night. On Wednesday, the 29th, Howard’s and Slocum’s corps moved eastwardly along the south bank of the Rappahannock and crossed the Rapidan at Germania Ford, and Meade’s corps, at the same time, crossed the Rapidan at Ely’s Ford, which is four miles above the United States Ford, and eight miles below Germania Ford, Couch still remaining at the United States Ford, and Sickles lying between Banks’ Ford and Falmouth. On Thursday, the 30th, the troops which had crossed the Rapidan, with those who crossed the Rappahannock at the United States Ford, were converged at Chancellorsville, from which place the Confederate General Anderson had rapidly withdrawn.

“Thus, on Thursday evening, Hooker was holding Chancellorsville with a force nearly equal to one estimate of the Rebel army; while Sedgwick had effected a lodgment on the south side of Fredericksburgh, and built here five bridges, upon which his entire force could be rapidly thrown across the river upon Lee’s rear the moment he weakened his fortified lines for the purpose of attacking Hooker at Chancellorsville. Nothing, it was evident, but the most masterly tactics on the part of the Confederates, could extricate them from the jaws of the vise which was ready to close upon them.

“Having endeavored to give succinctly some idea of the extent of the stage and features of the ground upon which the Union and Confederate armies were about to collide, it seems just to Hooker to add that this forms only a small portion of the stage on which, first and last, he had to perform. While the fighting proper was confined within a space of thirteen miles east and west, and from three to four miles north and south, his demonstrations and actual moves extended over a segment of

nearly forty miles, from Port Royal on the Rappahannock to the southeast—a point about eighteen miles east-southeast of Fredericksburg—to Kelly's and Germania Fords, some twenty-two miles west-northwest of that city. This was an enormous extent of front, when the nature of the country is considered, which precluded any personal supervision of what was ordered or done in it.

“Of all the battles of the rebellion, the writer has found Chancellorsville the most difficult to comprehend in all its turns and phases. Even yet some of its movements continue to be enigmas to him; that is, as regards the reasons which led to them, and the objects sought to be obtained. If the student meets with so much difficulty in his investigations, how much more intricate must the question appear to an ordinary reader.

“Like Gettysburg, it was a very hard battle, of three consecutive days; and, counting the collision of Friday, 1st May, of five. Considered either as a three or five days' conflict, it was not even then a long-enduring, simple fight, but a complicated one. Indeed, on three consecutive days, there were two distinct battles on each day. Correctly speaking, the fight at Suffolk might also be considered a part of the battle of Chancellorsville, for at the very time that Lee was attacking Hooker, on the Rappahannock, Longstreet, with a portion of Lee's 'Army of Northern Virginia,' was assailing Peck on the Nansemond.

“Hooker's preparations for the battle—administrative, tactical, as well as strategic—were all excellent, indeed perfect. His manoeuvres, preliminary to and attending the passage of the Rappahannock and Rapid Anna, were skilful in the extreme. One of the ablest of foreign critics has deemed them worthy of citation, as a model, on account of the secrecy, rapidity and energy displayed in making them.

“If tactics, as often defined, signifies the operations, dispositions, and handling of an army in the presence of an enemy, or in contact with one, then Hooker's



JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER
About 1882

manœuvring, preliminary to the battle of Chancellorsville, with his initiative, is one of the finest exhibitions of tactics, combined or simple, during our great civil war. They will always stand high among the brilliant examples deemed worthy of record for future application.

“The plan of Chancellorsville was a master conception. It yet remains to be explained why it failed. ‘Sooner or later,’ says Montesquieu, ‘all will be made known.’ To Hooker, as a general, may be applied, in another sense, the idea that he is ‘monarch of all he surveys.’ His *coup d’oeil* is magnificent. His plan of operations, in regard to the battle which occurred at Gettysburg, was excellent, and if carried out, as he intended, would have ground Lee to pieces between an upper and nether millstone. His military calibre may be best explained by a comparison: He cannot play chess blindfold. Any battlefield, within the scope of vision, he is capable of governing, but the question is, can he, by telegraph or orders, direct vast and difficult combinations beyond the range of vision?

“On Thursday, the 30th April, and Friday, 1st May, Hooker had thrown two divisions of the Second Corps, Couch’s; the Third, Sickles; the Fifth, Meade’s; the Eleventh, Howard’s; and Twelfth, Slocum’s; also Pleasanton’s brigade of cavalry; across the Rappahannock and the Rapid Anna (Rapidan), above their junction; and they were concentrated around what is known as Chancellorsville, a village or hamlet consisting of a single solitary brick house, with its outbuildings. Here Hooker had his headquarters. Originally almost in the centre of his army, through mismanagement or misfortune it soon constituted his left, when his right, held by Howard, occupied the high and commanding position, about three miles west of Chancellorsville, at the Talley House or Farm.

“When Hooker had crossed the river, and sought, on the 1st of May, to form his line, as he should have done, at right angles to the river and the turnpike—had he carried out this plan and sustained himself in this

position, he would have had the enemy in a trap. That line would have stopped for Lee every avenue of escape, except the direct road to Richmond. After he had assumed his new line, all these ways of escape were again uncovered.

“It is seldom that the annals of war are called upon to chronicle more consummate strategy than that which transferred the Army of the Potomac from the left bank of the Rappahannock to the right, and placed it in a position to menace the escape of its two-years long antagonist, the more fortunate Army of Northern Virginia. The over-estimated Lee, who had spent the preceding five months in studying the region in which he had achieved a sanguinary success, was completely foiled—duped is scarcely too strong a word.

“To understand how completely Hooker had circumvented Lee, and placed himself between the latter and his capital and base, a resort to the map is necessary. This will show that if Hooker had occupied the line which he designated in his orders of Friday, 1st May, A. M., Lee would have been cut off from every line of retreat except the direct one upon Richmond—the very line which Stoneman had been detached with his cavalry to break up: so that if Stoneman had accomplished the service assigned to him, and ruined the railroad, Lee would have had to fall back upon a barren country, from which he could derive no supplies, upon country roads—Virginia roads, bottomless, because apparently based on quicksand—which, in consequence of rain, must have become almost immediately impassable for his trains and artillery.

“Indeed, had Stoneman destroyed the bridges in his rear, and thoroughly cut the Aquia or Fredericksburg and Richmond railroad, it is difficult to conceive how Lee could have escaped a prompt and unrelenting pursuit, even if he had avoided an immediate battle. In such a case, Hooker would have been in his element, for at Williamsburg he had shown how vigorously he could pursue and how fiercely he could cling to a retreating enemy.”

“If Hooker had been killed, making a reconnoissance, on the morning of Friday, 1st of May, 1863, in the same way that a twin-spirit, Kearny, lost his life, in the performance of a like imperative duty on the evening of 1st September, 1862—had Hooker, we say, fallen, while riding forward to investigate for himself the field on which he was about to act as he had done a year previous, shortly after daybreak, Monday, 5th May, 1862, before his great fight at Williamsburg—his successful crossing of the Rappahannock and complete outgeneraling of Lee, taken in connection with his previous record as a first-class fighter and a wonderful organizer, would have justified the country in claiming that it had produced a great commander; one who had shown himself worthy to rank among the few great captains competent to make, and make use of, an army of over one hundred thousand men. And the nation would have been justified in boasting that an untimely but glorious death had cut short the career of one of those rare great captains whose brilliant inner lights were worthy his magnificent presence on the battlefield; a presence replete with grace and grandeur, unexceeded and very rarely equalled.

“Indeed, had Hooker listened to Pleasanton; had he listened to Slocum; had he listened to the first inspirations of his own genius, he had nine out of ten chances in favor of winning one of the greatest and most decisive battles of the war.

“That he had the capacity to comprehend what he ought to do is evinced by his order for the general advance of his troops; which will be again referred to at length. That he did not carry out his own brilliant conception, but was untrue to himself, is one of those enigmas before which the critic stands mute, incompetent to understand the subsequent irresolution which no excuse seems adequate to justify, unless there were secret reasons, known only to the chief—reasons which he has been too magnanimous to publish.

“When Hooker had successfully and grandly solved the most difficult part of the war problem which required

solution at his hands, and when he had at least one-half of his magnificent army concentrated in hand, ready to act south of the Rappahannock, he was almost justified in his expressions of exultation at the happy result of his complete out-generalizing of Lee.

“There was one circumstance, however, unfavorable for Hooker. Immediately in front of his right wing, which was resting on Hunting Creek, an affluent of the Rapidan, the country was a wild and tangled wilderness, with a few obscure roads, which were but very partially known to any of the Federals, but the whole country was perfectly familiar to the Rebels.

“Unfortunately for himself and for the country, Hooker did not seem to appreciate the terrible fact that he was now called upon to operate in a district whose natural difficulties demanded a totally different application of military science from almost any other theatre on which it had ever been called upon to adapt itself. Subsequently, in 1864, the very same difficulties again presented themselves, upon almost the very same ground—certainly upon an identical stage—and were only overcome by a vastly superior authority, doubled, aye quadrupled, in impulsive and directing power by an energy and will almost unexampled in its indomitable tenacity and ‘potential fight’—having under its control, too, vastly superior forces, which it could impel without consideration of life, like successive waves, upon a resisting force from which the best material had been gradually eliminated by a year of fighting and suffering—by the fearful waste at Gettysburg, or, more particularly, by the extreme hard fighting in the very battle now under consideration.

“Such a struggle as that of Chancellorsville, and those in the same Wilderness in the ensuing year, justified the remark of the Swiss Colonel Lecompte, that ‘such fighting did not constitute a battle—that is, a battle in the proper sense of the word—but a vast skirmish;’ or, better even, perhaps, a congeries of vast skirmishes, or, to use an Americanism full of common-sense suggestiveness,

'bushwhacking on the biggest scale possible.' Could any European general be brought to comprehend such a theatre of action, and then be called upon to act or operate upon it, he would find that every preconceived notion in regard to professional fighting would be almost without value in such a region—a labyrinth of woods, and jungles, and marshes, and bad-bottomed streams.

"A parallel may be instituted between Hooker's plan for the battle of Chancellorsville, and that of Frederick the Great for the battle of Torgau. Hooker, in carrying out his project, had much greater difficulties to overcome than the 'unique' Prussian; and had risen nobly superior to them. He had to cross a deep, wide, fickle, and, at times, furious river, in the presence of very bold and enterprising enemies; a very difficult preliminary which Frederic did not find between him and the Austrians. In speaking of Hooker's enemies as daring and energetic, Lee's subordinates, as a body, are intended, not Lee himself. Both Frederic and Hooker had to operate in dense woods.

"As previously remarked, Hooker seems to have fully recognized the necessity of a brilliant convergent aggressive, in his dispositions of the 1st, A. M., when, in his orders, he designated the line which extended from Todd's Tavern, on the left and south, to Bank's Ford, on the right and north. Nevertheless, hours were suffered to slip away unemployed.

"About 10:30 A. M., he woke up to the exigencies of the occasion, and sent his aide—that remarkable topographical genius, W. H. Paine—to direct the Fifth Corps (Meade's), on Hooker's immediate extreme left, to advance on the 'river road.' Paine bore, in addition, verbal orders to the effect, as recorded by him: 'The heights of Fredericksburg to be carried (from the west; Sedgwick was opening from the east) at 2 P. M.'

"Captain Paine then carried similar orders to the Twelfth Corps (Slocum's) printed orders that read—'the head of it resting (not resting at the time, but *to rest*) near Tabernacle Church,' about four miles east-

southeast of Chancellorsville, on the same front as Meade.

“Slocum received Paine’s communication gladly. He evidently comprehended and appreciated fully the object Hooker had in view—an enveloping and crushing attack upon Lee. He said to Paine, ‘Stay with me; I have anticipated this order—see it put into execution; there is my skirmish line ready to move.’ And away went the Twelfth Corps, heads down and tails up, like a well-trained pack of hounds on a hot scent.

“This advance, begun with such alacrity, was destined to be cut short most unexpectedly and speedily.

“When Paine returned to his commander, and reported the promptness with which Slocum had responded to the order to push on, he was dumbfounded at hearing Hooker direct him to return to General Slocum and countermand the orders to advance, and, moreover, to return to the position which he held at 10 o’clock, A. M.! Paine, although one of the most gentle and obedient of aides, thereupon remarked that he did not like to carry such an order, so contradictory that Slocum would scarcely credit its reliability, unless reduced to writing; and hesitated. Hooker then repeated the order, more decidedly; and, finding that the captain still lingered and urged that such a communication ought to be given to him in writing, added that he—Paine—should push on, and that another aide would be sent after him with a written order to the same effect.

“General Slocum could scarcely credit the order to retire. Paine then returned to Hooker, and was immediately sent out again to Meade, with a ‘verbal order’ for him ‘to retire about 3 P. M.’ He (Meade) had advanced to Decker’s (down near the river), about three miles towards Bank’s Ford, and in sight of the same.

“This counter-order, so inexplicable to Captain Paine, who bore it, and to General Slocum, who first received it, had always been, and still is, incomprehensible to the writer.

“The result was that this Friday (unlucky day) closed

with the assumption of a new line, in a great measure parallel to the plank road and river, instead of being perpendicular to them, as it should have been. This was nothing better than inviting an attack, for which the general to whom the key-point at Talley's was intrusted took no adequate steps to prepare. That same night, Friday, 1st of May, Lee and Jackson bivouacked under some pine trees to the left or south of the plank road, near the intersection of the 'Furnace Road,' fully two miles and a half inside of the point which Slocum's skirmishers had reached on the preceding day, when they were recalled.

"Why Hooker ever assumed the second line, which rested its right on Talley's, has never been made sufficiently clear. The writer has no hesitation in saying that, instead of forming his line of battle parallel to the turnpike, under any circumstances whatever, which admitted of freedom of action, he ought to have formed it perpendicular to and across the road, on one of these commanding ridges which, like the plateau at Hazel Grove, afforded good positions, highly susceptible of defense—if a defensive and not an offensive battle was the ultimate object of such a brilliant series of initiative movements, promising a sharp and decisive aggressive. If Hooker's intention was to receive and not to give battle, he should have remembered the maxim of Cromwell, that most uniformly successful commander: 'Attack without regard to numbers, being well persuaded that the assailants have always a great advantage.'

"The summing up of the events of this, the first day of Chancellorsville, is no pleasant task to one who feels as warmly toward Hooker as the writer. The suspension of operations—or, perhaps, more properly speaking, the abandonment of the crowning movement of a perfect conception and almost faultless plan of operations—leads inevitably to a conviction, as replete with regret as the criticism, so eminently just, so dignified, and so temperate, pronounced by Field Marshal, the Duke of Berwick, upon the failure on the part of the French to profit by

their opportunities and attack the Allies at the Abbey de Pure, or Parc, near Louvain, on June (7th), 1693, that 'God did not will the execution of these beautiful plans.' ”

CHAPTER XXXIX

JACKSON'S LAST FIGHT

“Lee acted with sound judgment and great promptness. Leaving but a small force at Fredericksburg, he massed his army in front of Hooker, and dispatched the right arm of his cunning and his strength, Stonewall Jackson, to make one of his brilliant flank attacks on the extreme right of the Northern Army.

“It may seem a curious fact to many lay readers that Frederick’s plan for the battle of Torgau was identical with Hooker’s for Chancellorsville; and yet more curious how instantly the latter’s conception engendered a similar idea in the ready mind of Jackson. It is impossible to believe that a slow brain like that of Lee could have conceived so promptly such a grand idea; and it is still more improbable that, of himself, he would have carried it into execution in time.

“Lee, like too many of the Northern generals, bears a close resemblance to the Daun of the Seven Years’ War—an over-cautious leader—whereas Stonewall Jackson was a perfect Laudon, quick to plan, and as quick to execute; with full scope and freedom of action, which Laudon never but once enjoyed, when, in 1761, he effected a master-stroke, finer even than Stonewall Jackson ever accomplished. Jackson—as after events proved, from this very day, on, to the end of the war—was at once the brain, as well as the right arm of Lee.

“About sunrise of the 2d, Jackson started with over ‘thirty thousand’ men—twenty-six to ‘thirty-five thousand infantry’—to march across Hooker’s whole front, and take his right in reverse. Although his movement was screened by almost impenetrable woods and underbrush, as also by the demonstrations of Stewart’s cavalry, it did not escape the vigilant eyes of

Birney, who reported it to his corps commander, Sickles, and he to Hooker. Unfortunately the latter supposed it was a movement of retreat or escape, though he permitted Sickles to make what might be termed a reconnoissance with Birney's division.

"Two divisions of the Third Corps were directed to follow it up, and this order was promptly executed; but such was the rapidity of Jackson's movement that his main column, 25,000 strong (he had, probably, in all 40,000), had passed on towards the right flank before Sickles' troops had struck the line of his march. One Georgia regiment, however, of his rear guards were made prisoners.

"Hooker's mistake as to the intention of Stonewall Jackson's movement; his erroneous idea that in it he beheld the flight of the Confederates toward Richmond; and his holding back Sickles—even if he had been correct in his judgment—was the Union commander's second great mistake. His first has been dwelt upon sufficiently—the recall of his orders to advance and attack on the morning of the preceding day, Friday, 1st May.

"Thus, in demonstrations and reconnoissances, and some hard fighting to the left of Chancellorsville—where Lee was pressing Hooker to distract his attention—the whole of Saturday passed unimproved by the Union army.

"Stonewall Jackson saw as clearly where the telling blow had to be planted as if he had thoroughly understood the antagonist against whom he directed it, and knew by actual investigation the neglected condition of affairs upon our right.

"If Sickles and Birney, as clear-headed and intrepid as Jackson himself, had been unleashed, the Confederate lieutenant-general's march would have been stopped—or, as Lincoln said on another occasion, 'haggled.' The very least result of an attack by Sickles upon the flank of Jackson's column, had he been permitted to move, as Kearny once said, 'from the word, go,' would have been to split that column in twain, just as Grant drove the

wedge of his army between those of Johnston and Pemberton, in 1863, and as the Russians were cleft by Soult, at Austerlitz—caught, as Napoleon expressed it, in the very commission of a folly amounting to crime. This onslaught in flank must have given us a victory.

“The course of Jackson was on a by-road through the forest, diagonally across the front of Hooker’s right, and about two and a half miles distant. He reached his position on the extreme right flank and a little in the rear of Howard’s corps, in the latter part of Saturday afternoon, and made an impetuous attack with his whole force about six o’clock P. M.

“Just as the Eleventh Corps, with ‘stacked arms,’ were preparing their evening meal and making themselves comfortable for the night, they were astonished by a commotion that was indeed calculated to startle soldiers accustomed to methodical fighting in the more open fields of Europe. Their bivouacs were invaded on all sides by a multitude of terrified game and vermin that had been aroused from their lairs while settling down to rest. On the heels of this terrified swarm of fleet and flying denizens of the woods followed, with almost equal speed, Jackson’s charging lines, amid crashing musketry, fearful yells, and all that wild theatrical show which none knew how to produce upon the battlefield more effectively than their leader. Howard was utterly and inexcusably surprised.

“Despite the express orders of the commanding general, and the fact of Jackson’s movement, which had been known for at least twelve hours, the Eleventh Corps was wholly unprepared for the assault of that most vigorous and enterprising of the Rebel generals. Although the movement had been seen, nine hours before the attack, from General Devin’s headquarters; although two divisions of Sickles’ corps had gone out between Howard’s left and Slocum’s right and captured a part of Jackson’s rear-guard, and Slocum had, in vain, attempted to penetrate the swampy and densely wooded region in his front, where the attack was made, yet late

in the afternoon of Saturday the arms in Howard's corps were mostly stacked along the line, and the men were away from them cooking their suppers and collecting fuel.

"None of the batteries were in position; no disposition had been made to receive the attack; no pickets were on the alert to advise of the approach of the enemy. The result was, as may be anticipated, a total and disastrous rout of the entire corps thus disgracefully surprised.

"Howard had neglected due precautions to insure success; the more inexcusable, as this neglect (as Hooker charges) involved a positive disobedience of orders. His self-confidence amounted to infatuation, and he acted as if under a spell which prevented him from seeing and doing anything. Thus, when Graham came up to reënforce him, he seemed as if offended at the idea of his needing reënforcements, and actually declared that 'he felt his position so strong, that he would invite the whole Rebel army to attack him in it.'

"After every excuse is made, and admitted, in favor of the men of the Eleventh Corps, none can be found for the officers charged with the duty of guarding against just such a result as occurred. No surprise of the war equals that of our right at Chancellorsville; not that of Prentiss's division at Shiloh, if even the worst accounts of it are true; nor that of Casey at Fair Oaks; nor that of the 'Army of West Virginia' at Cedar Creek; none of these can compare with it.

"This rout, crumbling, or whatever it pleases different writers to style it, of the Eleventh Corps, as a whole—some failing to dwell upon the redeeming action of portions of it—came very near exercising a fatal influence upon all of Hooker's subsequent operations.

"Not only was the Eleventh Corps routed and thrown into a disorder that rendered it useless for subsequent operations at Chancellorsville, but the ground from which they had been driven was the key of the position.

"Few subordinate actions in the war can compare with that of Pleasanton in stopping Stonewall Jackson.

“To his genius the country is indebted for the arrest of the iron-hearted Confederate general in his victorious career. But for this checking up, what diverse and appalling results might have followed! The critic’s mind shrinks from the contemplation.

“It has been conceded that Stonewall Jackson’s conception and execution of this, the last day of his life, was also his life’s crowning event.

“That this fearful disaster, impending like an avalanche over an Alpine valley, did not fall direct, but was diverted and averted, is due to a feat of generalship and an exhibition of heroism, to both of which the world can be challenged to produce superiors.

“He was ready; he was equal to the occasion. His foresight had not deceived him; his excellent judgment and comprehensive glance took in the whole thing. He had disengaged his cavalry of two regiments—one composed of raw men—from the dense woods, and had withdrawn them into a comparatively open space, in an apple orchard south of the plank road, which had a marsh—the ‘big meadow swamp’—in its rear. There, on a ridge, he so disposed them that they appeared like the head of a heavy column, whose rear-ranks, dipping below the crest, were concealed by the sloping ground.

“In their front he had planted twenty-two guns, by his sole energy collected upon the spot. Never did an artillery officer display greater skill in the management of his peculiar arm than did this general of cavalry. There, then, thus, with double-shotted cannon, he awaited the next surge of the flood-tide wave of the enemy’s success, satisfied that it would break in ruin, waste its fury, and recoil from his awaiting bronze and iron line.

“Pleasanton seems to have looked forward to the dissolution of the Eleventh Corps, very much as an experienced engineer foresees the giving way of an ill-constructed dike, or bank, under a certain amount of pressure; or as the ‘ice-master’ contemplates the bursting of a dam, with its pack of aggregated cakes and floes, and the consequences of the ‘debacle.’

“In a hurried conference with Sickles he had indicated an open space—reconnoitered by himself—as more favorable for the action of his cavalry than the dense woods farther to the front, and was trotting back thither, when an aide announced that ‘the Eleventh Corps was falling rapidly back, and that some cavalry was needed to stop it.’

“‘I understood pretty well what that meant,’ said Pleasanton.

“The next minute confirmed his apprehension, and found the open space filled with a ‘flood’ of fugitives, guns, caissons, ambulances, and everything incidental to an army in mad flight, pell-mell and panic-stricken; while, in their rear, the woods were alive with Confederates, firing and yelling triumphantly, and by note; for it seems that to have been a ‘good yelling regiment,’ on the Confederate side, was regarded as something extra creditable; or, at all events, extra reliable!

“Pleasanton knew that with such a deluge of victory surging down upon his little command—for he had only two weak regiments, one composed of raw, recently-enrolled troops—something desperate must be done. Every moment saved was of incalculable value; every minute more precious than any single life—nay, than hundreds of lives. It seemed as if nothing could stem Jackson’s onslaught, save an immense shock of artillery. Without a force of infantry corresponding to his, a stunning weight, quickly-succeeding volleys of shot, spherical-case, and canister—could alone avert ruin. To gather up and post the batteries he had instinctively clumped together, was to Pleasanton the work of a minute—more properly speaking—of a very, very few minutes. But even that short space—shorter than the time requisite to read these sentences—had to be wrenched, torn—drenched with blood—from the enemy.

“‘Major Keenan,’ said Pleasanton, calmly and gently, but decisively, as he always speaks, ‘you must charge into those woods with your regiment, and hold the rebels until I can get some of these guns into position. You

must do it, at all cost.' It was just the same as saying to him, what Kleber said to Schouardin, 'you must be killed;' and Keenan, understanding it in this light, replied with a smile on his face—a smile, although he knew he was going to almost certain death—'General, I will do it!'

"With less than two hundred cavalry, Major Keenan charged Jackson's thirty thousand victorious veterans, just as Harry Hidden, with seventeen New York Lincoln cavalry, charged a mass of Confederate infantry at Sangsters Station, 9th March, 1862, and, like Keenan, died in the discharge of his duty, by his death 'illustrating our cavalry service, and opening for it a new era.'

"With the brave Keenan fell one hundred and fifty of his brave men; but that charge saved the Union army. In another moment twenty-two guns stood double-shotted and ready to receive the enemy that treacherously displayed our flag to avert their fire, calling out to Lieutenant (now Colonel) Clifford Thomson, sent forward to investigate, 'Come on; we are friends!' Simultaneously, the whole edge of the woods became ablaze with musketry, and believing that this enveloping fire had shot down our gunners, the hostile swarms burst forth into the open with numerous red battle-flags, substituted for the 'Stars and Stripes' they had so cruelly used as a decoy! Thereupon Pleasanton shouted the command 'fire!' and the answering explosions actually swept the enemy's masses clear away from the spot. As reported by one: 'That fire seemed to blow those men in front clear (back) over the parapet,' beyond which they had formed for their charge.

"No man has ever paid sufficient stress upon this turning point of Chancellorsville, nor given due credit to that brigadier-general of cavalry, who, after displaying consummate tact in the selection of a position, and even greater capacity in the massing and handling of artillery, with the magical influence of a superlative manhood, could convert a few hundred raw troopers into an impassable barrier of human determination, and by a

single will hold up his scanty force, like a wall, in that desperate fight—not of minutes, but of an hour—converting a rout into the equivalent of a victory. But, under Pleasanton, the hero of that supreme hour and effort was Peter Keenan; and Pennsylvania owes him a grander monument than any the State has yet erected, or contemplates erecting. The Confederate career of victory was stayed; but that night was to witness another catastrophe, more fatal to their cause than even the double-shotted guns of Pleasanton.

“The fighting had ceased, and the powder-smoke drifted from the open space along the blood-stained Plank Road. This scene of wild, tumultuous, sanguinary conflict, of flight, charge, counter-charge and storm, of cannon-shot and canister, had subsided into quiet—the quiet of the battlefield, when its roar is succeeded by the less stunning, but perhaps more appalling, discord of cries from the still living and mutilated victims.

“That night—a night of interrupted skirmishing and spasmodic firing—the scene was magnificent. The moon was at her full, and showed splendidly, as she coursed through thin, scattered clouds.

“The moonbeams were pouring their silvery radiance through the partially developed foliage, casting long fantastic shadows across the corpse-strewn openings and glades, when, about nine o’clock (according to one account, but most likely at a later hour), Stonewall Jackson rode out to reconnoitre, and by a personal examination prepare himself to deliver another similar shock upon our line on the ensuing morning, 3d May, as that crowned with success at the sunset of the 2d.

“It was the last sunset he was ever destined to behold. In the adjacent works lay the First Massachusetts Infantry. They had marked the approach of the strange cavalcade, and with true aim delivered a volley, among many others laying low the greatest soldier and most brilliant military genius that gave glory to the Confederate cause throughout its four years’ brave but ill-starred struggle for the subversion of the Republic.

“The Confederates claim that their own bullets, fired at random, cost them this precious sacrifice.

“Whether he fell by the bullets of his own men, or by the balls of the opposing Unionists—as is much more probable—it matters not. The result was of incalculable advantage to the latter. Stonewall Jackson’s influence as a power was annihilated. There, in the moonlit glade of that mysterious Wilderness, just bursting into leaf and blossom, the leaves and flowers of his own great life shriveled and died, blasted by a shattering volley, as unlooked-for as the levin bolt, when it falls from a sudden cloud upon some overtowering tree that has long stood, the admiration and the wonder of all who gazed upon its preëminent grandeur.

“In this first fight in the Wilderness, Stonewall Jackson proved himself all that his panegyrists claim for him; most glorious at his setting; sinking to his rest after his life-career, short, but magnificent, amid such crimson glories as seldom dignify the close of a soldier’s life, even the most illustrious. Far superior to Lee, in every attribute of soldiership and manhood, he never descended from his height of pride until the grave, wet with the tears of friends and glorified with the admiration of antagonists, closed over him. And this, after a twenty months’ campaign, undiminished by the slightest charge of failure in a single plan, or its fast-following execution.”

CHAPTER XL

THE CRUX OF CHANCELLORSVILLE

“Just as the manœuvring of the preceding day, Saturday, 2d May, had commenced with the dawn, even so the movements of the Confederates again began with the daylight of Sunday, the 3d. These, however, extended over a much larger area than that occupied on the 2d.

“Chancellorsville, which had hitherto been a single and simple battle, as regarded Hooker, was on this day to become a double and complex conflict. A new quantity was to enter into the equation—the dislocated Union left wing, under Sedgwick, which had hitherto been demonstrating but not acting.

“Although no commander ever displayed better generalship in the initiation of a battle than Hooker, his mind, unfortunately, seemed to blaze up in the face of the enemy very much like accesses of an intermittent fever. Everything, prior to the noon-hours of May 1st, had been well ordered and promptly executed, and his movements on that day were as grand in conception as his passage of the Rappahannock river had been brilliant in plan and execution. Then came that almost unintelligible collapse of energy; and his aggressive, which had blossomed and was already in the process of fruition into a most glorious success, degenerated into a defensive, requiring a new effort, even greater than the original, to produce a result commensurate with what the marvellous growth and flowering had already promised.

“As before stated in this criticism, it is an axiom of war, or at all events, the opinion of the majority—almost the entirety of the most distinguished commanders—that the aggressive has within itself the vital principle of success; that nothing is more difficult than a pure

defensive; and nothing more depressing than the unnecessary transition from a spirited offensive into a defensive, inconsistent with the desires of the soldier and his aspirations founded on a magnificent and promising opening of hostilities. This last, Hooker was realizing fast.

“Expressing the consideration of chances in mathematical formula, these were at first as five, and very soon as three, in Hooker’s favor, to the Confederates’ two. On the afternoon of the 1st, these terms were reduced (as far as regarded the main army under Hooker in person) to an equality, by the order to yield ground. Hooker had lost the impulse, and the influence of advance. After the Eleventh Corps had crumbled, and Sedgwick was, thus far, not up to time (or rather behind time), it is the writer’s opinion that, if there was then any superiority on one side or the other, it was with the Confederates; because they knew the country better, were fighting on their own ground, flushed with successes on two consecutive days—1st and 2d May.

“The night of the 2d had closed upon a field evenly balanced as to chances. Hooker’s lines on the 2d had not been so bad. The worst feature in the problem lay in the fact, that he had assumed the defensive after having promised a vigorous aggressive. This in itself was dispiriting.

“Still, on this evening of the 2d, Hooker seemed all himself again; ‘flaming out with the old fire of battle,’ he had thrown ‘his old division, the darling child of his creation,’ into the breach, and with it, led by Berry, stopped it.

“After an ineffectual effort on the part of Berry’s division of the Third Corps to retake the position lost by Howard, night closed over the scene, and during the darkness Hooker retired his right wing and established a new line considerably in the rear of the original.

“This the enemy, deeply affected by the fall of Stonewall Jackson, had not greatly impeded, although there was considerable fighting throughout the whole of that

moonlit night, which was bright enough to permit of manœuvring, and even sharp skirmishing, although the weird shadows and ghostly hours doubtless gave rise to alarms and waste volleys, in a region bewildering enough, in its concealments and screens for unexpected attacks, in the full blaze of sunlight. In fact, the sun could scarcely illuminate many portions of the tangled 'Wilderness,' whose trees and jungle were woven into almost impassable barriers by the wild vines, which, flowering and thorny, wattled and bound together the upright trunks of the trees. This is no imaginary picture, but one borne out by the testimony of our generals.

"Orders had been dispatched to Sedgwick, about the time of Howard's disaster, to throw his force across the Rappahannock, in front of Fredericksburg, at 9 P. M.; and soon after more decisive orders were sent, which have all the ring of Hooker's pristine energy. On the heels of these orders, again, Warren, the senior engineer present, himself one of the most discerning, promising and capable officers of our army, followed, with renewed directions, to spur Sedgwick into instant and vigorous attack. Then, 'during the night,' Paine 'carried an order (in another direction) to Major-General Reynolds, to advance with the First Corps,' which as yet had not crossed the Rappahannock on our right, and, consequently had not been brought into line.

"The morning of Sunday, the 3d, dawned upon a new and strongly intrenched line of battle, presenting, as a whole, an irregular, angular outline. It commenced near the Rapid Anna; thence ran southward, along a ridge, inclosing Fairview Cemetery—about half a mile west of Chancellorsville, and a mile and a half east of Dowdall's Tavern (Melzi Chancellor's), on the turnpike, where Howard had his headquarters on the 2d. Thence the line continued on, along commanding heights, to the elevated plateau, from a mile to a mile and a half west-southwest of Hooker's headquarters, near Hazel Grove.

"This, the key, salient, or apex of the new dispositions, was held by Sickles—Sickles, destined, within two months

(2 July), to lose his leg in endeavoring to hold another similar salient, by his resolute defense to determine the field, and, by his tenacity, remotely, to decide the result of Gettysburg. The ridge at Hazel Grove presented a strong position, but not near as good as that of Talley's, which had been lost—one might almost say given up—on the preceding evening.

“Thence the line, not so good, but still highly defensible, bent eastwards across the plank road to the old turnpike. This portion the sharp and astute Slocum (Twelfth Corps) occupied. Next to him came the First Division, under the brilliant Hancock, of the Second Corps. The left, facing Fredericksburg, was assigned to Meade (Fifth Corps); and what remained available of the Eleventh Corps (which, on the 2d, had been posted in full force upon the right), now filled out the extreme left, resting upon the Rappahannock, two and a half miles south-southeast of the junction of the Rapid Anna. Along this front, of over four miles on either side, our engineer corps, some four thousand strong, had labored vigilantly and vigorously to complete a series of works; and extensive stretches of *abatis* rendered the approaches extremely difficult.

“The principal difficulty of Hooker in the battle of Sunday, May 3d, was his want of ground on which to manœuvre his forces and to feed the fight along the front with fresh troops. His original line was in the form of an obtuse equilateral triangle, one leg resting on the Rappahannock at Bank's Ford, composing his left wing, and the other resting on Hunting Creek, a small affluent of the Rapidan, and both wings having Chancellorsville for an apex and the headquarters of the general commanding.

“By the changes of Saturday night this obtuse angle became acute; the country was, for the most part, densely wooded, and the Rebel batteries were now so placed as to throw a heavy enfilading fire upon any columns that might advance in an offensive movement. The reënforcing corps that had come across the river

had no ground upon which it could successfully take position. On account of this change, made necessary by the loss of the position held by Howard, the movements of the day following, when Lee made his attack at Chancellorsville, were greatly embarrassed.

“The apex of the triangle, held by Sickles and Slocum, was entirely enveloped, and menaced from every direction, by the new Confederate formations, which lapped scarcely any other troops, except a small portion of the Second Corps under Hancock.

“On Sunday, the Confederate batteries were disposed exactly as if they had been engaged in breaching the salient of a bastion; and the enemy’s troops moved to the attack as if storming the consequent breach. Meanwhile, other batteries were enfilading the prolongation of the lines of defense, or crossing their fire upon the interior posts. The relinquishment of our advanced position at Hazel Grove was identical with the abandoning of an outer work and the withdrawal of its garrison within an inner line. In a word, Lee was besieging Hooker; and, when the latter retired back across the river, it was equivalent to the evacuation of a bridge-head, extensive enough to shelter an army.

“Having thus endeavored to exhibit the condition of affairs around Chancellorsville, on the morning of the 3d, it becomes necessary to transfer the reader’s attention—temporarily and only cursorily for the present—to the Sixth Corps, under Sedgwick.

“On Saturday night the commanding general, aware of the disadvantage under which he must labor on the following day, dispatched positive orders to General Sedgwick to advance on Fredericksburgh, carry the enemy’s works near that place, and march on Lee’s rear, thus relieving Hooker from the embarrassment into which the loss of the position of the Eleventh Corps had thrown him. The Rebel force at Fredericksburgh, on Sunday, was very small, Lee having withdrawn almost everything for the main attack on Hooker. The whole force with Sedgwick, on Sunday, was over 24,500 to

28,500, and it was thought that he could, with ease, crush the shell left by Lee in the lines at Fredericksburgh, and advance so as to render Hooker material aid during the afternoon of Sunday, the 3d.

“Towards midnight, 2d-3d May, Sedgwick—who had previously crossed to the south bank of the Rappahannock—advanced upon Fredericksburg, in obedience to orders dispatched to him by Hooker, after the Eleventh Corps had crumbled. This movement should have been made at least twenty hours sooner—at the very instant Lee attacked the advance of Slocum and Meade that was promising a glorious result.

“The first delay cannot be charged to the subordinate, however much subsequently it may lie wholly at his door. Much valuable time—ineestimable as it proved—had been lost; but this, as yet, was not his fault. There was still ample time and opportunity for him to have rendered vital coöperation. Henceforward, the responsibility of all that occurred, to the prejudice of Hooker, rests upon him.

“That he was slow, and unequal to all the important duty assigned to him, is demonstrated by the manner in which he performed it, and by the result—even more fatal than the consequences that flowed from the scooping out of the Eleventh Corps through the misconception of Howard.

“Hooker claims that if Sedgwick had pushed ahead (partly on the river road?), or had held Taylor’s Hill, covering Bank’s Ford, he could have re-crossed, reunited his forces, and whipped Lee, even after his failure to do so higher up the river.

“Although the night of 2d-3d May was lit up by a bright and unobscured moon, which rendered it almost as well adapted to necessary movements as the day, and although the distance to be covered was less than two miles, from fifteen to sixteen hours elapsed before the Heights of Fredericksburg were carried. This, too, notwithstanding the fact that the force that could have been directed against them ranged from twenty-two to twenty-

eight thousand men, while the force opposed, numbering from eight to ten thousand, had to defend a line of six miles, if the plans of the Confederate historians are correct. What is more, and corroborative of the justice of a severe criticism of Sedgwick, the matter was quickly decided after it was taken resolutely in hand, about 11 A. M., 3d May.

"In about one hour of resolute work, Howe and his compeers had solved this hitherto ugly problem, which brings matters on the left down to midday on the 3d of May.

"The distance from Fredericksburgh to Chancellorsville is eleven miles, and Sedgwick received orders to advance on Saturday night or early Sunday morning. Yet it was eleven o'clock on Sunday morning before he attacked the enemy's lines at Fredericksburgh, and, after carrying them with ease, instead of moving vigorously in Lee's rear, as was expected, and forcing him upon the road on which Jackson had moved on Saturday morning, Sedgwick advanced leisurely along the plank-road leading west of Fredericksburgh, and had proceeded but three miles when night overtook him.

"Sedgwick was to have coöperated on the evening of the 2d; certainly during the night of the 2d-3d; or at dawn on the 3d. Consider Howe's language—it is clear and very pointed: 'If this movement had been made promptly, under cover of night, with the force which we had, we could have taken those heights, as I believe, with little loss, and in but little time. We would have taken them by surprise, and then the way would have been open to have gone immediately on towards Chancellorsville to General Hooker's assistance.'

"It was nearly 3 P. M., five hours after Hooker had been driven from his works at Chancellorsville, when the Sixth Corps moved out in this order on the plank road.

"Meanwhile, momentous events had been occurring in the Wilderness.

"Early on Sunday morning, Sickles's front, the apex or salient of the Union line, was fiercely attacked by the

Confederates, according to their wont, in successive lines. Furious as were the onslaughts, they were met by resistance no less fiery in its determination. Indeed, the weight of the battle fell on this point, and the resistance was worthy the assault. On this day Sickles was severely injured in repulsing, or checking, the enemy; and Maine's grand volunteer representative, Berry—the noble Berry—fell in a charge worthy any of the most loudly trumpeted efforts of modern war.

“In this action of Sunday morning, the 3d May, the Twelfth, a part of the Second and Third, and a small part of the Fifth Corps, were engaged. The Eleventh, the First, and the greater part of the Fifth, were not under fire that day, because they could not be brought into action except at great disadvantage, and with losses that would not be compensated by any favorable results likely to be reached.

“Again and again did Sickles send to Hooker, asking for reënforcements. They did not come. Then, about 8 to 9 o'clock A. M., Major H. Edwin Tremaine, senior-aide to General Sickles, bore to Hooker his last and most urgent appeal for support—a support indispensable, since the last reserves at the disposition of Sickles had been put into position. When Tremaine reached the well-riddled Chancellorsville House—afterwards destroyed and converted into a pile of ruins—he found Hooker on the porch.

“There he stood on that porch or piazza, grand, as he always was in action, the very type of a brave, intelligent, and elegant officer. One hand, his right, upraised, was pressed against a column, relieving his weight. The other rested upon the rail, or balustrade, between the pillars. Having dismounted, Tremaine advanced, and was in the act of reaching upward the communication, of which he was the bearer, and Hooker was bending down to take it, when a heavy missile—a twelve-pounder solid shot, it is said—struck the column against which Hooker was leaning, tore it from its base, dashed it against his chest and head, and struck him down,

apparently lifeless. Well might Tremaine, in relating the catastrophe, dilate with horror upon his feeling at that moment.

"It would have been terrible enough, at any time, to see his commander-in-chief thus smitten down before his eyes, and at his very feet; but, at that supreme moment, the awful consequences of this disabling of the directing mind and central source of power was a still heavier shock to the comprehensive mind of the able and experienced aide-de-camp. He says the result (that result, the compulsory abandonment of another key-point—a dreadful necessity, when, west and east, to right and left, disaster and delay had already lost so much) was the crisis.

"The concussion which felled Hooker senseless has never received due weight from the pen of any historian, as affecting the final result of the battle. It paralyzed the Union efforts, just as it ultimately eventuated in the paralysis of Hooker himself. Had Hooker remained unhurt but for a few moments longer, it is but equitable to believe that he would have dispatched the reinforcements to Sickles demanded by the latter. Had these been promptly furnished, it is the opinion of that corps commander and other able officers, as well as of an honest historian (Greeley, II, 361 [1]), they would have retrieved the fortunes of the conflict.

"That which Hooker, senseless, could not, Couch, next in rank, did not do.

"At the very moment that it required almost super-human energy to retrieve affairs, Hooker was wanting. His complete disabling literally left our army without a head; and there was no Bernard or Saxe Weimar there, as at Lutzen, who could replace a slain Gustavus, and wrest victory from disaster. Frederick, struck down at Torgau, arose to find everything had gone on as well as if he had not swooned. Joubert, shot through the heart at Novi, had a successor in Moreau, perhaps more worthy the supreme command than the superior whose gallant breast received the fatal bullet.

“And, to cite an incident of our own great war, when Kearny fell, a Birney stepped into the vacant place and maintained what had been won, preserving the line of retreat for the sorely tried Army of Northern Virginia.

“On the contrary, as at Shiloh, after Albert Sidney Johnston succumbed, a precious half hour was lost. Like Beauregard, Couch was not up to the occasion; and when Hooker came to himself, the balance had declined too far in favor of the enemy for any weight of generalship, that he, in his half-stunned condition, could throw into the scale, to restore the equilibrium or depress it in favor of the Union arms.

“Notwithstanding the fact that Hooker was thus smitten down at the crisis of the engagement, this catastrophe has never been brought forward by his critics to alleviate the censure heaped upon him. Nor do they even seek to discover and develop how far the disobedience, shortcomings, or errors of others affected his grand plan, or how far his contusion neutralized the process of remedies.

“Any one animated by a sense of justice, who will closely examine the sworn testimony of the generals, taken down before the Committee of Congress, must come to the conclusion that Hooker never was himself again during the remaining three days, through which the fighting at Chancellorsville continued. To an impartial mind the evidence is conclusive, that Hooker never rallied from the shock.

“In the course of this eventful day, one of those episodes in war occurred, which increase tenfold its horrors.

“The severest fighting had been in the dense woods, and the ground was carpeted with the fallen foliage of half a century—in places, perhaps, of centuries—the aromatic and inflammable spines of the terebinthine evergreens of the region, which are exported to produce the quickest and hottest fire. The surface was also thickly strewn with brush, dry branches wrenched off by the wind, and twigs clipped by bullets, as well as great

limbs and whole trees, shattered and thrown down by shot or shell.

“The fighting had ceased, and comparative tranquility succeeded—that is, tranquility as to the roar of battle, but no quiet, except by comparison; for, from that labyrinthine Wilderness, welled out the cries and groans, and often agonized shrieks, of the wounded and dying. All at once, columns of dense smoke arose; and spirts or snapping tongues of spiteful flame shot up above the trees, and rolled along in billowy surges of consuming fire and suffocating smoke commingled.

“The woods, crowded with wounded, were all ablaze! No one who has not seen a forest or jungle, wrapt in flames, can imagine the rapid development of the conflagration, the intensity of the transient heat, or the stifling nature of the smoke. Thus many wounded, of both armies, within a short distance of help, but yet beyond its reach, perished by the most dreadful deaths, between the two hosts, whose eyes, ears, and bosoms were harrowed by this pitiable fate of friends or comrades, which they could do nothing to alleviate.

“And all the while, in the adjacent woods, birds in gay plumage were sporting amid the fragrant blossoms, and singing upon the branches of the trees that spring had just re clothed with verdure, while ‘braves’ were burning alive, and heroes perishing in the embrace of a fiend, in tortures excruciating as those of the fabled Nessus!

“This fire occasioned a lull in the fight, for nothing living could pass through the flaming barrier.

“Midday, Sunday, 3d May, was the turning point or crisis of the battle of Chancellorsville. This was the time when the salient of Hooker’s main line crumbled, through the failure of adequate supports, which Hooker, senseless, was in no condition to furnish, and when Sedgwick, on the high ground between the heights of Fredericksburg and the cleared plateau of Salem Church, was repeating Hooker’s great error—that of ceasing to advance.

“Having compelled the Union forces to assume a new

line, and felt or menaced it throughout the greater part of its extent, Lee came to the conclusion that he could safely turn his whole attention to Sedgwick, who had become, and was, for the time being, his most redoubtable adversary.

“Over one-third of the distance between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, Sedgwick, pausing, broke the charm of his successful storming of the heights, and, in consequence, a little farther on, found his aggressive converted into a defensive, and then into a retreat.

“About 3 P. M. Sedgwick formed his line of battle at the blacksmith shop and old toll gate, on the comparatively clear and elevated plateau drained by Colin Run, which falls into the Rappahannock about as far above the sharp elbow—directly north of Salem Church—as Bank’s Ford lies below it. The writer has visited the ground, and can say that, for Virginia, it is quite a respectable battlefield. This was the farthest point attained by the Sixth Corps as a body—four miles from Fredericksburg, but still six short of the point where their presence was a necessity.

“Having crushed in the convex of the Union line, and reorganized his dislocated commands, Lee detached Anderson and McLaws with their divisions to encounter the Sixth Corps. The result was that, when Sedgwick formed his line of battle, at the old toll gate, or blacksmith shop, he had in his front a Confederate force fully equal to his own commanded by some of the best leaders and hardest fighters under the Confederate banners. Indeed, the extreme left was under that little Mahone, who, if a light weight, was one of the hardest hitters that ever struck at any portion of the Union army.

“Early turned Sedgwick’s left as completely, on the morning of the 4th May, as his mortally wounded superior had turned the right of Hooker on the afternoon of the 2d May. But what a contrast is presented by the reception which he experienced at the hands of the White Cross Division of the Sixth Corps, to that which

Jackson met with from those who wore the red crescent!

“As Early stole round Sedgwick’s flank, Howe changed front to meet him, until Sedgwick actually presented to the enemy a line of battle—three sides of a square, with the corners rounded off—almost identical in formation with that of Hooker, with both flanks resting on the river; Early, facing towards Chancellorsville, fronting in the same direction that Sedgwick had done on the previous day, and Howe, facing towards Fredericksburg, upon the very range of heights, although farther to the left or north, which he had been so gallantly called upon to storm on the preceding (Monday) morning, 3d May. In fact, at this juncture, both Sedgwick’s and Hooker’s formations closely resembled *pan-coupe* bridge-heads, from six to seven miles apart, built of living stones or clay, not inert materials, to protect two different crossings of the Rappahannock.

“Sedgwick occupied a very strong position. That he did not hold it against forces perhaps a little superior—most likely equal, certainly not much inferior—in numbers, is inexplicable. That he should have held it, is the decided opinion of his subordinate, who defended the flank assigned to him—defended it successfully, until left without support, and even then only yielded it when commanded to withdraw.

“Leaving out of this consideration the question whether or no he acted with alacrity, had he imitated Stonewall Jackson or Jubal Early, he would have flanked and turned the latter, or ground him into pieces between Howe and Gibbon. In the first instance, having two to one in that quarter, he should have captured or destroyed the forces opposed to him, between Marye’s Heights and Taylor’s Hill, to the west, and the Rappahannock, to the east.

“Having thrown away or lost the opportunity—for even admitting that he had lost five thousand men, he still confronted the Confederates with numbers and men equal to those they brought against him—Sedgwick

recrossed the river. There had still remained for Hooker one tactical expedient; that was for Sedgwick to hold his position on the south side of the river, at Bank's Ford, until the First, Eleventh, and Fifth Corps could cross at the United States Ford, march down, and, uniting with the Sixth, form a force that could effectually interpose between Lee and Fredericksburgh, and have at least forty miles the advantage in the march for Richmond.

"But Sedgwick had crossed to the north of the river before the necessary orders to the contrary had reached him.

"If Sedgwick had held the ground he occupied on the 4th May, Hooker could have retired across the Rappahannock, marched down the left or north bank of that river, recrossed it at Bank's Ford, and have renewed the battle on the most favorable conditions in a comparatively cleared country.

"Every one seems to delight in blaming Hooker, excusing every one who failed him, especially Sedgwick. If the critic will divest himself of prejudice and partiality, study facts, and the ground, he must come to the conclusion that if Sedgwick was a general capable of appreciating the advantages of a position, he should never have fallen back across the river, while Howe was holding his own with such tenacity and success. And if Hooker made no other remark, which was just and true, he was perfectly correct in the following, that Sedgwick, on the 4th May, held 'really the key to all of the enemy's defences in the vicinity of that city,' (Fredericksburg), 'a position that a corps could defend against an army,' (R. C. C. W., 1865, 1, 133).

"Howe (21) corroborates this, when he declares that 'near dark we had completely repulsed' the Rebels on the 4th May, and, 'entirely broken,' they 'fell back in a rout.' Howe adds: 'After this repulse, the position of the Sixth Corps, in my judgment, was less liable to a serious attack than it had been at any time before, since the Sixth Corps crossed the Rappahannock,' and he

testifies: 'I saw no occasion or necessity for recrossing the river.'

"On the night of the 4th May, Hooker called his corps commanders together to determine whether the Army of the Potomac should resume the aggressive—a vigorous aggressive—or yield the position to the enemy and return across the Rappahannock to their original position. The only one in favor of the former proposition was General Howard. To whatever motive the harsh critic may attribute his decision, it is some satisfaction to the writer to renew the record that Howard was desirous of attacking the enemy. The same was his opinion, be it said in his honor, two months afterward at Williamsport. How muchsoever he erred in judgment, in gallantry he always stood foremost and the grandest. Meade's vote, according to Hooker, Sickles, and Howard, was a peculiar one. He was for an advance, for the reason that 'he did not believe we could recross the river in the presence of the enemy.'

"The result was the resolution to recross the Rappahannock.

"The next day, 5th May, a new and shorter line of defence, 'a continuous cover and abatis was constructed (R. C. C. W. 1865, 1, 60), from the Rappahannock, at Scott's Dam, around the mouth of the Hunting Run (or Creek), on the Rapidan, a distance of three miles.'

"Within these the Army of the Potomac retired. It would seem, from Hooker's own language, that this line was not tenable. Exposed in front to musketry, in advantageous positions, it could be enfiladed by the rebel artillery on commanding ridges. Each line, successively abandoned, had been worse and worse for the Union Army.

"The writer well remembers the attention with which he followed every report from the scene of action, and caught at every sign of renewed hope in the extracts issued by the New York press. From the very first his chief dread was the setting in of a severe rain storm, which almost invariably seemed to accompany the movements of the Army of the Potomac.

“Heavy rain always made our generals over-nervous in regard to their communications and sources of supply. This was the effect of academical teachings, as yet uncorrected by practical experience. This made them so anxious, in these respects, that it distracted their attention from the enemy’s movements in front, and thus gave the Rebels an advantage of which they never failed to avail themselves. Then, at such junctures, the Rebels concentrated all their thoughts and efforts on the aggressive, which was too often met by only a half-willed defensive, attributable to indecision in the commanders, rather than irresolution in the commanded.

“One morning, about daylight, about the time Hooker recrossed the Rappahannock, the writer was awakened, to examine a newspaper, showing the final distribution of our troops in the acute triangle, whose apex (at three P. M.) was at the Bullock, or White House, about three-quarters of a mile north by east of Chancellorsville House, a disposition exterior to the final line of cover. No sooner had the eye rested upon the map than he turned over to sleep again, all his prognostics verified, with the remark: ‘It is all up with Hooker. Just the position of Napoleon at Waterloo, after the Prussians had driven back his (the French) right, and were menacing his line of retreat,’ so that their (the Prussian) batteries, answering the British, were delivering an almost complete cross-fire, about equivalent to enfilading both his lines.

“In the state of feeling existing among many, it was fortunate perhaps that the Rebels had neither the will nor the ability to pursue. Their authorities attribute their slackness to the same storm which is so generally received as the reason which induced Hooker to withdraw.

“The Rebels had indeed exhausted themselves, and as cautious Warren remarked, ‘I expect they were very glad to get rid of us.’

“Chancellorsville realized the truth of one of Lincoln’s ‘little stories,’ illustrative of the campaign of the previous year. He instanced a Western fight, in which a nominal

victor left his antagonist terribly bruised and beaten, weltering in his blood upon the scene of collision. When his friends approached to console the prostrate man, he said they need not concern themselves much about him; he would be all right in a few days; but he guessed his opponent would have life-long cause to remember the fight, for he had his eyes in his pocket. The Rebel army was about in the position of the victor in Lincoln's story.

"Hooker's return across the Rappahannock is one of those movements of our war which has never been satisfactorily explained. It has been intimated that it was based, in a measure, upon political motives, or, more properly speaking, perhaps, motives of policy.

"It is well known that many of the Austrian half-victories and half-defeats were due to the policy of always withdrawing from a field, still doubtful, before the army was fought out, for fear of risking too much, or jeopardizing the integrity of the army, and in the hope of contesting the matter on another day, upon another field. The Rebels never seem to have been actuated by such reasoning, except at Gettysburg; on the contrary, the Union commanders too often felt thus."

CHAPTER XLI

THE FRUITS OF CHANCELLORSVILLE

“Such was the battle of Chancellorsville, considered as a strategical combination. Up to Thursday evening, 30 April, all the Federal movements had been planned with skill and prosecuted with vigor. The disaster which followed, on Saturday, was owing in part to the obscure topography of the region towards which the Federal right was facing; but mainly to the neglect of the commander of the Eleventh Corps, who disobeyed special instructions and omitted common precautions, though in the immediate presence of an enemy known to be in the highest degree vigorous and enterprising.

“Still, the disaster on the right had not extended much beyond the Eleventh Corps, which was only one-seventh of the entire force under Hooker’s command. The centre was still unbroken, and energy on the part of his subordinates, on the extreme left, might have retrieved the fortunes of the day. Never has there been a clearer demonstration of the importance of minutes in war; never has the want of a proper estimate of minutes received a prompter punishment—only that punishment fell, not where it was deserved, but upon the hopes of all the loyal States, and, to some extent, upon the reputation of the commanding general.

“Sedgwick groped, delayed, neglected to advance with such promptness as to coöperate with Hooker on Sunday; gave the enemy time and warning so as to bring upon him (Sedgwick) unnecessary resistance at Fredericksburgh; gave Lee time to march from Chancellorsville and resist his advance and prevent his coöperation with Hooker; and, finally, failed to seize and hold the key-point of his part of the field, which, even in spite of the first delay, might have retrieved in a great measure the

disasters of the day. He suffered Lee to vibrate, with alternate fearful shocks, from Hooker back upon himself, recrossed the river, thus destroying the last tactical hope of Hooker, and converted a struggle, which promised the destruction of the Rebel army, into a mutual slaughter and a drawn battle, of which all the strategic honor remains with Hooker, the tactical glory with Jackson, the historic reputation with Lee.

“The strategy of Chancellorsville was analogous to that of Torgau, one of the great battles of Frederick, which he fought against Daun in 1760. Frederick, with two-thirds of the Prussian Army, in three columns, turned the right of the Austrians and attacked them on the flank and rear, just as Hooker took Meade, Howard, and Slocum and went up to Kelly’s Ford in order to turn Lee’s flank and force him from his lines of retreat. The King left Ziethen to act the part assigned by Hooker to Sedgwick, that is, to engage the enemy simultaneously in a different direction, and in the end to cooperate in the decisive attack.

“The Austrians gained over the king an advantage almost as decisive as Jackson over Hooker, but the Prussian veterans fell back and took a new and strong position, while Ziethen, unlike Sedgwick, never slacked his work or lost heart, but fought on, with pertinacity and genius, so as to work in at the critical moment on the decisive point. The issue was a tactical and strategic victory for the king.

“If Chancellorsville must be ranked as a failure, it was one of Frederick’s, not one of Napoleon’s defeats. It did not materially help the Rebel situation, nor inspire them with any great hope; neither did it lower the morale of the Federal Army, nor shake the confidence of troops in their commander; nor did it, in the opinion of military critics, dim the reputation of that commander.

“That he removed his Army safely across a furiously swollen river, immediately after the fight, in a moral and physical condition to renew the contest when and where he chose; that he lost no batteries, and inflicted upon the

enemy a greater loss in men than he suffered himself, is proof sufficient that Chancellorsville is to be classed, not as a defeat, but as a failure to realize all that a large and well-appointed army, with an accomplished commander, had hoped. The total Federal loss at Chancellorsville, as given by official reports, was 17,197 (Childs makes it 15,000), of which the heaviest fell on the Sixth corps, which bore the brunt of Monday's attack near Bank's Ford, and the Third Corps, which did most of the fighting on Sunday morning at Chancellorsville. The Second, Eleventh, and Twelfth suffered about equally, while the losses in the Fifth were slight.

“Lee admits that his loss was fearful, and a letter from a Rebel surgeon to his wife puts their loss at 18,000—the same as Childs makes it: 18,000 killed and wounded, 5,000 prisoners, 15 colors, and 7 cannon. To this fearful list must be added the death of Stonewall Jackson. And, when we consider the moral force that perished with him, the absolute impossibility of replacing him, and the remarkable and effective combination of soundness and of brilliancy that was realized when Lee and Jackson coöperated, we may well declare the loss to the Rebels irreparable and beyond all estimate.

“The result of the battle of Chancellorsville was neither a defeat nor a disaster. A disaster necessarily involves a very severe loss, without any commensurate advantages. A defeat, in this case, would be a very unjust term, because it implies a loss of trophies, and, what is more, of honor. The balance of trophies was in Hooker's favor; the surplus of honor greatly on his side of the account.

“As for the losses, no comparison can be instituted. Taking the Rebel account as correct, the world must acknowledge that their's was infinitely greater than ours. To them their losses were irreparable. Hooker concedes seventeen thousand one hundred and ninety-seven in killed, wounded, and prisoners. From this, two thousand five hundred and eight was a decrease of numbers, without anything like an equivalent diminution of

strength; fifteen thousand is a very fair estimate of the total damage to the Union army.

“The rebels concede that they lost 12,277 men. Stonewall Jackson, one man, but that man a host in himself; one life, it is true, but a life which would have been cheaply purchased if Davis or Lee could have redeemed it with 20,000 of his brother soldiers, if Lee could have averted the fatal bullet for eight weeks, if the Rebellion could have prolonged his life for sixty-five days. Whoever reflects upon this battle, and casts a retrospective glance on what the Rebellion achieved in the year preceding Jackson’s fall, and what it lost in the year succeeding that event, will need no further argument to place a just value upon his extinction.

“Returning to the relative losses of the opposing armies, their comparative severity exceeds those of any great battle on record.

“At Chancellorsville, out of the 80,000 Union troops in the presence of the enemy, between one-quarter and one-fifth were wanting at the next muster. Of the 69,000 on paper, or rather of the 50,000 on the field, who did the fighting, about one-quarter were gone.

“If the Rebel official return is accepted, one-fifth of Lee’s force was eliminated at Chancellorsville, a fifth which might be styled, without exaggeration, ‘the kidney of the wheat,’ the flower of its fighting strength, the very essence of its aggressive. It is more than likely that their losses exceeded the Union casualties. It is most probable that it equalled Hooker’s statement, 18,000, founded on what may be termed detective investigation, corroborated by the wail which went up, and by the lamenting admissions, never intended for Northern eyes. So that of those who poured the deadly shot into each other’s bosoms, or cut or shot each other down with sabre, carbine, and pistol, a little over one-fourth were killed, wounded, or captured. Conceding 5,000 as prisoners on both sides, one-fifth of the actual combatants remained upon the field, dead or disabled. Of the disabled, how many perished in the flames!

“‘Stonewall Jackson and Forrest,’ says a thoughtful observer and enforced participant on the Southern side, ‘are the most wonderful men the war has produced, one as a partisan leader, the other as a corps commander.’ Who could have foreseen that the quiet and methodical teacher in the military school at Lexington, in 1860, who had lived to be thirty-four years of age without winning any other name than that of a well-informed theoretical tactician, and a consistent officer in the Presbyterian church, would, for the three following years, move before the eyes of a brave but misguided people; another Achilles in the glow of his martial enthusiasm; another Cromwell in his ability to summon a powerful religious enthusiasm to coöperate with consummate tactical skill? Yet such was Stonewall Jackson to the South, from the day he drew sword for a cause which he really believed to be sacred, till, in the dusk of that Saturday evening, he fell under the mistaken fire of his own soldiers when he had just seized the key-point of the field of Chancellorsville, and was making the only exposure of his person ever justifiable in a great general, by a personal reconnaissance at the front in the intervals of a decisive battle.

“Lee was able, from first to last, to inspire thorough confidence in the soundness of his military judgment, and to make his soldiers feel that, whether in advance or retreat, whether in offensive or defensive, there was a good strategical reason for any movement ordered by him. Jackson could do more. He could infuse his own stern enthusiasm into the entire line of march, or line of battle; so that, for the time, at least, the man lost his personal identity as a mere soldier, and became an animated machine, guided by the will, infused with the fiery activity, and the unquestioning valor of his beloved commander.

“Jackson and his corps took no counsel with flesh and blood. Footsore and often barefooted, his men clung together, in the longest of his swift marches, often for days together, accomplishing such amazing distances as twenty-five and twenty-seven, and, in some instances,

thirty-seven miles in a day. If a horse fell dead in the harness, the men would tie the straps together and pull with the surviving horses.

“His men had the raggedest clothes and the brightest gun-barrels in the service. With true Saxon energy and insight, he looked ever at the thing to be accomplished, and made everything bend to that single end. When firmness was needed, as in the perilous verge of the first battle on Manassas Plains, his spirit shot across and through the hard-pressed regiments, and they were as steady under the galling fire as a stone wall.

“When a swift overpowering onfall was necessary, he wheeled the prompt brigades into a hollow square, walked modestly to the centre, took his dusty little fatigue cap in his hand, and, on bended knees, with that brief but impressive appeal to God, stirred the hearts of his enthusiastic boys more than a hundred brazen trumpets could stir them. And when, a few moments later, the stern order came ringing down the line: ‘Dress on the colors! column, forward! march!’ neither bullet, nor grape, nor canister, could check the swift on-movement of those serried files.

“No eye was quicker than his to see the tactical key-point of a field. No movement could be swifter than his to throw on that point a force able to sweep all obstacles before it. His corps underwent hardships that would have demoralized any other command in the Rebel army. But he knew how to stimulate them by the double incitements of duty on the one hand, and glory on the other. He kept them ever animated by the enthusiasm of heroic sacrifice, if the issue seemed desperate, or elated by the prestige of continued success. No commander in the war has shown a more thorough appreciation of time in all military movements.

“The brilliant movement of the 2d May, 1863, which really decided the issue at Chancellorsville, was the last bright page in the military annals of the South. The next and the last offensive strategy of the Rebellion was the movement—the last throw of a desperate gambler—

which culminated in gory disaster on the hills of Gettysburg, and the failure might, perhaps, have been avoided, if the daring spirit and clear vision of the dead hero of Chancellorsville had been there to see and to seize the tactical key-point of that hard-fought field.

“The writer will always maintain, as his sincere conviction, that Chancellorsville was more disastrous, in its effects upon the South, than the whole campaign of 1862, culminating in the battle of Antietam. Although the conflict upon the banks of the Rappahannock, like that on the hills between the Antietam and the Potomac, belongs to the category of drawn battles, the former was very much like the agonizing process which ushers in life.

“Without Chancellorsville, Gettysburg could never have been born; the new birth of our country could never have been consummated. The five days in the Wilderness alone made the three days on the ridge of Gettysburg a possibility; that is, a possibility of a successful solution of the great question which had converted our industrial country and a peaceful people into one camp, one arsenal, and a nation of soldiers; a question whether freedom or slavery should be the future of America; fought out with tongue since the organization of the United States; fought out the two preceding years with the sword; yet to be fought out for two years more, although the question was decided while Hooker commanded the Army of the Potomac.

“The glories of Chancellorsville, and they are many, its effects, momentous and most fortunate, belong to Hooker. Its defects; defeat, if the world elect to style it a defeat; the failure, must rest with those in whose action was realized the truth of the adage that ‘wilful negligence is equal to crime,’—a negligence which rendered a magnificent conception a source of deep regret and mortification to the North, occasioned the delay of a year and a half before Peace could extend her olive branch throughout our borders, cost hundreds of thousands of lives, and, worst of all, endangered the

great cause, the onward march of human progress and of Freedom.

“Truly has it been said that the glories of the Chancellorsville campaign belong to Hooker. Casting a retrospective glance, as far back as the 26th of January, 1863, and extending the contemplation thence forward to the succeeding Anniversary of our Independence, what miracles had Hooker accomplished—yes, miracles—in military organization and development!

“He received the Army of the Potomac, a discordant and imperfect structure, in many respects a ‘jangling’ or ‘shackly concern.’ He delivered it over to his successor a perfect machine, an organism, so permeated with the spirit he had infused, that it continued to go on with the impulse which he had given, and the fuel he had supplied, until it had won the impending battle on which the tide of events broke, turned, and thence, ever after, ebbcd.

“At Gettysburg, nothing was changed until the last shot had put the period to the jubilant enunciation of the victory. The organization—thorough, practical, visible, and felt in every member, from company to corps, through every arm or branch of the service—all, everywhere, was due to Hooker. The generals he selected stemmed the torrent of Southern fury on the ridge of Gettysburg. The men who bore the burden and the heat of the day at Chancellorsville, and stopped the gap in the Wilderness, crippled the exultant foe, under the shadows of the Alleghanies.

“One of these who held the post of danger and of honor on the 3d of May, near Hazel Grove, was the man who depleted Lee at the Peach Orchard, and determined that Gettysburg should be fought on that hook of hills destined henceforward to everlasting renown—Daniel E. Sickles. And, while thus exalting to his proper place the volunteer general who accomplished such results, the historian of the contest delights to linger upon another leader of the highest merit, who, after displaying a consummate tact in the selection of a position, in the

massing and handling of artillery, and the conversion of a handful of raw troopers into an impassable barrier of human determination, on the ridge near the Columbia Furnace, arrested the career of Stonewall Jackson, was the medium of consigning him to that grave in which lay buried the irresistible 'Onward' of the Rebellion, and thenceforward showed himself as capable of handling large masses of cavalry as any one who ever rose to fame by the sabre.

"At Brandy Station, Alfred Pleasanton, the preserving General of Brigade at Chancellorsville, proved, as the corps commander of the whole cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, that 'the man was found' who could convert the Northern trooper into the acknowledged superior of the legendary chivalry of the South, even when led by a hero of romance, like J. E. B. Stuart, crowned, under the eye of Lee, a few hours before, with the flowery garlands presented by fair hands in the full assurance of their paladin's victory. At Brandy Station, at Aldie, at Hanover, in the brilliant affairs around Gettysburg, upon the South Mountain, around Hagerstown, and at Falling Waters, Alfred Pleasanton demonstrated of what glorious deeds our Northern troopers, so lately and greatly depreciated by their own people, were susceptible under a capable commander, when they, 'in better form, amply redeemed the prestige of their country, as the Northerners of America have theirs.'

"Still, although the development is due to the grand figure in the waning twilight of Saturday, 2d May, the North is most unjust, if, for a moment, it is oblivious that the flower and the fruit could never have blossomed and formed had not the energy and judicious care of Joseph Hooker planted the seed, watered the shoot, and fostered the growth of that efficient cavalry, which, growing grander and grander, finally, under Sheridan, ran down and stood ready to hew down the last array of the 'Army of Northern Virginia,' when the uplifted sabre was arrested by the unavoidable surrender of the subtle Lee.

“The battle of Gettysburg was fought with the ammunition with which Hooker had amply provided the soldiers, inspired and carried forward by his energy—soldiers fed, in a great measure, with the rations provided by his foresight. The same engineers, he had selected and advanced, guided and posted the troops; the same staff administered and moved them. ‘Everything was in place as he disposed it; nothing was changed in matter or spirit,’ is the remark of one who loved and trusted him, ‘except that, in person, Hooker was absent, while still present in spirit and inspiration’—everywhere, from Oak Ridge to the Round Tops, from the Granite Spur to Culp’s Hill.

“Such are the laurels which are due to Hooker. They cannot be torn from his brow. Indeed, who would seek to tear them from the brow of that magnificent chief, now crippled by terrible injuries received in the very battle under consideration? Had Hooker been less than he was—had he been less than the writer claims for him—his career would have ended with the relinquishment of his role as the third commander of the Army of the Potomac. But it was not so. Justice would not permit it to be so. His fate was not the fate of either of his successors or predecessors.

“Lookout Mountain, the key note to Chattanooga, the entering wedge to the first decisive fight on Mission Ridge, the American ‘battle above the clouds,’ the most romantic triumph of the whole war, belongs to Hooker alone. That plum was never intended for his share. But Heaven, juster and more merciful than man, determined that he should be the one to plant the banner of the stars upon the loftiest pinnacle ever won throughout the war by force of arms; an efflorescence as wonderful as the feat of arms which it commemorates; a ‘pulpit rock,’ from which the arch devil of the rebellion, like the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan (no less ferocious in his instincts and selfish ambition), promised to his deluded followers a triumph as false as the poisoned goblet to a like fanaticised faithful in the halls of Neksheb.



JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER
About 1892

“Thenceforward—even to the last, when a second and worse injustice compelled Hooker, through indignant self-respect, to lay down his command in favor of the very general who lost him Chancellorsville—he was always, on every field on which he appeared, the same magnificent picture of a soldier, and the same glorious leader of men, the soldiers of the North. At Ringgold, Mill Creek, Cassville, Dallas, Pine Mountain, on the Chattahoochee, before Atlanta, but more particularly at Peach Tree Creek, most resplendent honors belong to the great general and soldier.

“Though Hooker was not permitted to have his name forever linked with the victory at Gettysburg, he did not lose the splendid opportunity here afforded of gaining a victory over himself. He cheerfully gave General Meade all the assistance in his power, unfolded his plans, indicated the proper line of march, and, upon reaching Washington, expressed himself to the President as ready to waive all military punctilios, and accept the command of a corps under Meade, so recently his subordinate.

“But it was not given him to coöperate directly in those movements which resulted so gloriously to the Union arms, but, in other fields, on the far-off plains of Georgia, and in the ever memorable battle above the clouds, he continued to devote all his abilities to the good of his country, and, though in a subordinate position, he has won a glory above the mists of prejudice and the shafts of detraction.

“It will be found, when the seven successive commanders of the Army of the Potomac have their merits examined, and their places assigned by the calmness of future historians, that no military administration was more scientific, more vigorous, active, or enterprising than that of Hooker; and that if Grant succeeded where he had failed, it was because Grant was entirely free from what so painfully embarrassed all his predecessors—departmental lines and bureaucratic interference.”

CHAPTER XLII

GETTYSBURG

After Chancellorsville, Hooker returns to Falmouth, Lee to Fredericksburg. A month later Lee's army stretches itself out like a worm, its left, under Ewell, advancing into the Shenandoah Valley.

Aware that a movement is afoot, Hooker throws his cavalry across the Rappahannock to feel Lee. It encounters Stuart's horse at Beverly Ford, 9 June, and a sharp brush costs each side nearly a thousand troopers. This reconnoissance discovers Lee in an extremely awkward and precarious situation.

The attenuated Confederate line, its left at Winchester, its right at Fredericksburg, is one hundred miles long. Hooker, divining Lee's purpose—a second invasion of the North—sees in a flash his own opportunity. He has but to cross the river, hurl himself upon Fredericksburg, and crush the isolated right of Lee's extended line.

Washington thwarts him. Halleck and Lincoln have their usual scare, and lest the national capital should perish, Hooker is sent after Ewell. The latter, capturing four thousand prisoners at Winchester, pushes into Pennsylvania. Lest Washington should be uncovered, Hooker must wait, south of the Potomac, until Lee's whole army is over. Crossing only one day behind Lee, Hooker concentrates at Frederick, 25 to 27 June. He can strike at Lee through the South Mountain passes, or follow him into the Susquehanna Valley.

Hooker pleads in vain for the troops which Halleck, from time to time, has detached from the army and scattered around in useless batches. Halleck remains peevish, bickering and obstructive, while Ewell reaches York and Carlisle, within easy reach of Harrisburg.

On 27 June Hooker orders French to evacuate Mary-

land Heights and join him with his eleven thousand men. The same day, at two P. M., Halleck countermands the order. Hastening to Frederick, frustrated, insulted, Hooker asks to be relieved. Meade succeeds him.

Meade is Halleck's favorite. The very next day, 28 June, he repeats Hooker's order to French, and Halleck does not interfere. The same day Meade's army advances north from Frederick, following Hooker's plans and orders.

Lee, grown timid and fearing for his communications, changes his plan. He holds Longstreet's corps at Chambersburg, while Ewell and Hill, on the Susquehanna, turn back. Meade determines to fight at Pipe Creek, but hides his purpose behind a movement of his left towards Gettysburg. Lee, meanwhile, has directed Hill and Ewell to seize Gettysburg, which controls the roads toward the Potomac.

On 1 July the Union cavalry under Buford, supported by Reynold's infantry, discovers and engages A. P. Hill just north of Gettysburg. Hancock with the First, Howard with the Eleventh Corps, form into line, but with Ewell's advance to the support of Hill the Union troops are pushed back through the town. They seize and begin to fortify Cemetery Hill, a hook-shaped height south of Gettysburg. At Hancock's earnest suggestion, Meade brings up his whole army from Pipe Creek.

On the morning of 2 July Lee faces our entrenched army from a parallel height, Seminary Ridge, a mile west of our position. At noon Lee hurls Longstreet upon Sickles, who occupies a peach orchard, in advance of our main centre. Sickles is pushed back to our regular line. Warren, seizing Round Top in a desperate duel, frustrates a move to flank our left. Ewell makes some impression at Culp's Hill on our right. This small success, with Longstreet's against Sickles, misleads Lee. Believing he has seriously weakened both our flanks, he hopes to crush them the next day.

At daylight, 3 July, however, we force Ewell back, and new works on our flanks, thrown up during the night,

reveal themselves to Lee. He must take our centre. Massing one hundred and fifty guns on Seminary Ridge, at one o'clock he begins a terrific cannonade. For two hours he pours this fire upon us, and for two hours we reply with our eighty guns. Then Pickett's thirteen thousand gallant men make their famous charge, precipitating themselves against our centre. With fearful slaughter the column is checked, and its shattered remnants hurled back.

Unfortunately, Meade is not the man to make a swift countercharge. All night and the next day, 3 and 4 July, the armies sullenly confront one another. Lee's slow retreat, begun 5 July, is scarcely harrassed by the slothful Meade.

The following criticism by General de Peyster is taken from "Decisive Conflicts."

"Lee's second invasion of the North, in 1863, even more than his first, in 1862, resembled the various inbursts into England by the Scotch, to collect plunder, replenish their commissariat, make reprisals, and compel the recall of the English forces, operating in Scotland, for the protection of their own richer territories. It was a gigantic raid, or immense French Algerian-razzia, unworthy of this age of the world. Like the invasion of Southeastern France, in 1707, by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, it did temporary mischief, but accomplished no lasting benefit, and cost the South an army, in numbers, besides its best—its incomparable infantry.

"No Rebel incursion, however grand in numbers, ever rose to the dignity of an invasion—not even Bragg's—since even he sought political reorganization as a secondary object, and made plunder the primary object of his military operations. Verily, East and West, in 1862, and East, in 1863, if the mass of the Rebels were honest in their ideas of political regeneration, their leaders, like Esau, sold their birth-right for a mess of pottage. This, with all their faults, the Northern generals never were guilty of.

"By the recent discovery of Lee's revised or detailed

report of this campaign, it appears that in June and July, 1863, his objective was Harrisburg, and, by implication, must have been Philadelphia. That he could not cross the Susquehanna is attributed to the menacing movement which Hooker directed, or rather planned, against his communications.

“There is every reason to believe that when Lee first moved from the Rappahannock, to cross the Potomac, the objective of his liveliest hope, if not of his calculations, was Washington. This expectation Hooker’s prompt interposition at once dissipated. From the battered buckler interposed by Pope, in 1862, Lee glanced off to South Mountain and the Antietam. In the same manner, from the glistening shield of Hooker, Lee recoiled to Gettysburg. With the energetic Hooker on his track, he would not have dared to cross the Susquehanna. With the substitution of another general, circumstances were altered.

“While operations were confined, as they had been for six months, to the banks of the Rappahannock, and the control that Hooker had of his force was as supreme as Lee had over his, his movements were unhesitating and decisive; but when Lee swept away toward the upper Potomac, Hooker found himself at once entangled in departmental lines, and obliged to operate through the circuitous, bureaucratic machinery at Washington.

“He looked not merely to the repulse of Lee. He believed that the concentration of all the forces, in and about Washington—everything, in fact, in Heintzelman’s Department—would be sufficient to check the advance of the invader; while the Army of the Potomac could be thrown upon Lee’s rear, cut his supplies and line of retreat, isolate him from his base, and accomplish his destruction.

“He found, however, after long, frequent, yet unsatisfactory communications with the bureaucratic Chief, that no such plan of operations would be seconded at Washington. The Army of the Potomac was looked to as the only force that could protect Heintzelman’s

Department, and yet Heintzelman was to remain supreme in that Department; and Halleck, without giving positive instructions to Hooker, merely intimated, from time to time, what was expected of him. All this, as can easily be seen, produced nothing but misunderstanding and delay. The Rebel General presented a flank that reached from Fredericksburg to the upper Potomac; yet Hooker, with 100,000 men, was kept in such doubt by suggestions from Washington, that he never considered himself at liberty to fall upon the divided forces of the enemy.

“Lee pressed onward in the hope that Hooker’s department embarrassments would fetter his pursuit. In this he was disappointed. When he burst into Maryland, and struck at Washington, his blow glanced aside from the shield which Hooker’s vigilance had interposed. By marches, into which he had infused his own energy, marches such as an army of 100,000 men, with all its trains, has rarely, if ever, performed, Hooker bounded after the Rebel General. The blow aimed at the throat of the country was turned aside. Glancing, instead of inflicting a deadly wound, it only shore off a few ornaments from the armor.

“Repulsed from Washington, without a battle, Lee expended his energies in plundering Pennsylvania. But this rather roused, than exhausted, the material strength of the North. It was clear that a little common-sense strategy was all that was necessary to make the Rebel General pay the forfeit of his army, and perhaps of his life, for the desperate rashness of this invasion. But, unfortunately, honest common-sense was the element that had always been lacking at the War Office.

“The same line of conduct, which had witholden many a well-aimed blow, was continued. Hooker, with a scope of vision which saw beyond the mere winning of a battlefield, to an early ending of the war, on one decisive field, found the means by which so great an end could be accomplished denied him and the determination manifested that he should not deliver the blow, which, at once, should make him, and unmake the Rebel cause.

“He felt that a victory like that which McClellan had won the year before, the bare possession of a field strewn with the dead, ploughed with artillery, and soaked with blood, and the spectacle of an enemy retreating unmolested, and loaded with plunder, to renew the fight on another day, was not enough for the country, for the Army, or for himself. To him, with his spirit, his military genius, and his honor, a victory which would permit Lee to recross the Potomac, was a defeat.

“The army he had in hand was sufficient to check Lee’s advance. To crush him effectually, he needed numbers; and, accordingly, called for the additional troops, distributed at various points in the vicinity of Washington, in what were known, at the War Office, as Schenck’s Department and Heintzelman’s Department, where they had done and could do no good—troops that could be summoned to his standard in time, without imperiling a single position whose fate did not depend upon the gaining of such a victory as he planned, and whose value was trifling compared with the results at which he grasped.

“The controlling feature of Hooker’s strategy was to sever Lee from everything in his rear. Lee himself says, in his report, that the danger to his lines of communication was constantly before his eyes, and embarrassed all his movements. A few troops, in certain portions of the other departments, were said, in Halleck’s telegrams, to be subject to Hooker’s orders; but, in some cases, the officers refused to obey Hooker, on the ground that they were not in his department; and, in others, they reported that they had been instructed by Halleck not to notice Hooker’s orders. It was not until Hooker saw that, so far from being able to destroy Lee, he could only hope to repulse him, since he had, at the same time, to cover Harper’s Ferry and Washington, that he was convinced that the good of the country required a General over the Army of the Potomac who enjoyed the confidence, and might have the coöperation, of the bureaucratic Chief.

“It would be difficult to find a case of greater hardship

in the annals of this or any other war. During the five months of his leadership, the Army of the Potomac had been raised from a defeated, demoralized organization, to a disciplined, sanguine, elated army. A great battle had been fought, of which the strategical results had been neutralized by the neglect or delay of subordinates, but in which irrecoverable losses had been inflicted on the enemy. And now another great battle is imminent; Hooker brings his army north of the Potomac, and parries Lee's thrust at the Capital.

"While he is arranging to give the enemy, not a repulse, merely, but a Waterloo defeat, he finds his plans are misapprehended, his suggestions misconstrued, his calls dishonored at the War Office; that he is hopelessly entangled by departmental lines, by conflicting military jurisdictions, and by the personal hostility of the President's military advisor. He obtains relief from his command, only to find the very troops that were denied him given to his successor; and that successor moving on to the momentous shock, to figure in one of the greatest of historic battles, on lines indicated by himself, and in the very order he had designated.

"*'Hos ego versiculos feci; tulit alter honores,
Sic vos non vobis,' et cetera.*

"*'He that ruleth his own spirit is greater than he that taketh a city.'*

"The Bureaucratic commander-in-chief, who had acquired some reputation and some solid returns from his translation of Jomini's 'Life of Napoleon,' seems at this time to have forgotten every practical lesson which might have been learned from the splendid career of that renowned warrior. In no instance did Napoleon, while he was Napoleon, divide his forces, or dislocate his command when he expected to deliver a decisive battle. His life teems with examples showing his true and successful policy.

"Until 1815, he never hesitated to abandon undertakings irrelevant to the great result, to bend all his energies and direct all his forces to a point of paramount

importance. Halleck, who was the military advisor of the President, might have remembered that Wellington owed his success on the Peninsula, to the distribution made by Napoleon of his forces into separate armies, under independent chiefs of equal rank, whose jealousies and mutual misconceptions rendered all harmonious coöperation to one result impossible. He might have taken a reliable lesson from the earlier and more brilliant career of the great Corsican, in his campaign along the Brenta.

“After that brilliant series of actions, Montenotte, Dego, Mondovi, and Lodi, Napoleon, triumphant over the Austrian forces in the field, had completed the investment of Mantua, an acquisition of the first importance for the consolidation of his previous conquests. Suddenly Bonaparte learns that Wurmser, with a new Austrian army, 35,000 strong, is descending the Adige. These, with reënforcements from the interior of Austria, composed a force of 60,000, collecting for the relief of Mantua.

“Napoleon did not hesitate to spike 126 pieces of siege artillery, throw his stores into the lake, destroy his siege works, which had cost his army so much time and toil, and march, at once, against Wurmser. ‘If I beat the enemy,’ he said, ‘I can recover my cannon at Mantua; in the contrary event, I should not less have lost them.’ He felt that his course was to sacrifice everything to the massing against the enemy a force that would ensure his defeat in the field, after which he could renew the siege of Mantua, with the certainty of making it his own.

“The result justified his reasoning. He beat Wurmser, and eventually captured Mantua, with Wurmser and the wreck of his army in it. Hooker, in a similar case, reasoned like Napoleon. His plan was to abandon every point of secondary importance, augment his army with the garrisons thus released, concentrate every sabre and bayonet upon the enemy. Had his counsel been followed, had Hooker been entrusted with the command of all the forces between the Neuse and the Susquehanna, had the

covering of Washington been made, for a short time, subordinate to the greater object of crushing Lee and all his force, the Union armies could easily have been so manœuvred as to grind up the Rebel army as between the upper and the nether millstones.

“Such a plan, however, was too bold, too vast, too Napoleonic for the translator of Napoleon’s Life.

“The result showed the superior wisdom of the commander of the Army of the Potomac. Gettysburg was fought between forces nearly equal; and the contest was long and bloody. Lee’s advance was checked, but he withdrew in good order, and without pursuit, recruited his forces, kept the defensive only, and two years of slaughter were added to the two already passed.

“But the system of departmental lines was abandoned before success was achieved. Grant, coming from the Southwest with the brilliant reputation and overmatching authority, the result of unbroken military success, was placed in command and raised above all bureaucratic interference. Departmental lines were swept away, a bureaucratic commander at the capital fell, the National fortunes rose, Rebellion was crushed.

“Hooker relinquished the command of the Army of the Potomac at Frederick City, Maryland, June 28th, 1863. Meade received that army in a thorough state of organization and discipline.

“Meade took up the reins, and the spirit infused by Hooker still animated that army, which he may be said to have created. Scattered, but still a unit in its desires and objects, the impulsion given to it by that energetic, but unfortunate commander, carried it on to, and through the decisive battle of the war.

“Gettysburg—emphatically the soldiers’ fight—the fourth decisive battle (morally, territorially, and militarily), may be regarded as the fruit of the seed of Chancellorsville, this last a parallel to Shiloh, inasmuch as it disposed of the military executive genius of the South, just as Pittsburgh Landing removed the strategist of rebeldom. Gettysburg was the culmination of a

campaign whose decisiveness had been taken out of it by a previous battle, by manœuvres succeeding to that first conflict, and by the slack pursuit of the discomfited foe, subsequent to Gettysburg.

“The real causes of Lee’s defeat were his losses at Chancellorsville. Whether ‘Stonewall’ Jackson was or was not a great general, he was a mighty power, and in his fall, and the death of the flower of the Confederate army in the Wilderness and around Fredericksburg, the ‘Army of Northern Virginia’ lost exactly that which rendered Gettysburg decisive in favor of the North.

“With Jackson at his side, Lee could play the great captain; with Jackson in his coffin, the Napoleonic element in Lee was buried out of sight and mind, and Lee was no longer the victorious commander of armies.

“The future historian, when the influence of living men is ignored, or has disappeared, will do justice to the immense consequences which followed from the depletion of the ranks of the ‘Army of Northern Virginia,’ around that lone Chancellorsville house, and in the tangled jungle and clearings beyond the Rappahannock.

“Lee showed he was not a great general in fighting at all at Gettysburg, or fighting as he did, there and then.

“In contemplating a topographical map of Gettysburg and its environs, while filling in from memory the peculiar accidents of the ground, which are so difficult to represent on paper, the idea suggests itself that the position occupied by our troops resembles that of an entrenched camp, protected on either flank by fortresses, covering a town, and blocking the issue of a valley opening into a rich and vast champaign or rolling country.

“To the eastward and southward the traveller encounters nothing which deserves the name of a mountain, within twenty-two miles, until he reaches Parr’s Ridge, a backbone which commences near Burk’s Ferry, on the Susquehanna, about seventeen miles above Havre de Grace; thence extends westerly to Strasburg, where it

is cut by the Northern Central Railroad; thence curves southwesterly to Westminster, where it is traversed by the Westminster Branch Railroad, from Union Bridge or Middlebury to Baltimore; thence again southerly, to Mount Airy, where it is crossed by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, whence it serpentine towards the Potomac, bifurcating near Clarksburg, the northern fork or spur terminating in Sugar Loaf Mountain near the junction of that river and Monocacy Creek, the southern near Edwards' Ferry.

"It was along the eastern base of this ridge that the writer suggested, in 1861, the construction of a railroad, connecting the Pennsylvania Northern Central, at Strasburg, with Washington; with the Westminster Branch at Westminster; with the Baltimore and Ohio and Washington, near Mount Airy; thereby obviating the delay and difficulties of transmitting supplies and troops through Baltimore and over a long single-track railroad. The distance is about seventy miles, which, in a country of easy grades, could have been constructed for \$1,750,000; which could have been saved in one year by the effect of competition and the increased facilities of transportation.

"This railroad would have afforded an opportunity to military engineers to protect it in such a manner, with defensive works or a chain of small forts or block-houses, that these would not only have sufficed for the security of the road itself, but have constituted a line of posts whose very existence would have deterred a partisan corps from venturing through it—turning Washington, as Stuart did in 1863—to make a raid in the direction of Baltimore.

"At each of these forts or posts a signal station might have been established, something on the plan adopted by the Russians for preventing the incursions or outbreaks of the Circassians along the frontier of the Caucasus, whose signals by day or night would have announced the appearance of suspicious corps, regular or raiders, and have thus enabled the military authorities to concentrate

troops, either to defend menaced points, or cut off the retreat of the enemy—which troops might have found rapid conveyance along the contemplated railroad to those which it connected. It would, doubtless, have held completely in check the triangular district to the eastward of the Parr's Bridge, or range of small mountains, and between it and the Potomac, and the Susquehanna and Chesapeake Bay.

“Why the Rebels loitered, potted, and hung like a thunder-cloud upon the crests and slopes of the mountains overlooking Gettysburg, and did not seize that important strategical position, is one of those secrets which have never been explained. Those who have marked the progress of events, and the influence of individuals upon them, must attribute this error to the absence of Stonewall Jackson, sleeping in the grave.

“Ewell should have continued his attack upon our left, July 1st, P. M., despite of any orders from Lee to the contrary. This would have been a master-stroke, and Ewell's master in military matters, Stonewall Jackson, would have made it. That Lee arrested Ewell's aggressive, was his most fatal error, the blame of which he cannot shift to any other shoulders from his own. Had Stonewall Jackson been alive that day, the chances are ten to one that the Rebel flags would have crowned victoriously the crest of that Cemetery Ridge which the Rebels never again assailed except to their own repulse and destruction.

“Jackson, ‘unsurpassed in his appreciation of the value of time,’ would never have paused, with victory in full sight, as Ewell did, though fifty Lees had ordered him to do so. Nor would Lee have sought to direct him, or stay his hand. Ewell, who had drunk at the fountain of Jackson's inspiration, and had risen to the command of a corps in the light of his example, saw the truth, but seems not to have had the moral courage to disobey a direct command. Well might he exclaim, in bitterness of spirit, as in Gettysburg he is reported to have done, when Lee's orders reached him, to hold his hand, that

Lee was an 'old fool'—as some say, with a bitter oath. Lee committed many errors at Gettysburg, but this was his first, his greatest, the most fatal.

"Having committed his first great fault, in arresting the attack of Ewell, who had, apparently, seven chances out of ten in favor of his success, Lee seems to have ignored every axiom of war, and committed one blunder upon another. He realized, in military matters, the truth of the proverbs in common life, 'one false step leads to many' (*C'est le premier pas qui coute*). With the groans of the victims of Malvern Hill, repeating in thunder tones the condemnation of Magruder, Lee exposed himself to a severer judgment for a greater act of reckless disregard of the commonest military and common sense. He had heard the whole world resound with the censure heaped upon Burnside, for giving into his (Lee's) hand, to work his will upon it, the Army of the Potomac, wasted in attempting to storm the heights of Fredericksburg, and yet he imitated the action.

"Then ensued that attack of over 15,000 Confederates, in column, as magnificent in its exhibition of the finest courage as any which has ever been witnessed upon the battlefield; an attack to which the advance of Macdonald, at Wagram, across the plain of Marchfield; or that of the English column, into the 'jaws of death,' at Fontenoy; or that of the Old Guard at Waterloo (to all of which it has been compared), cannot serve as any parallel; since the artillery and small arms of 1745, 1809, 1815, were as inferior in range and precision to those of 1863, as the long-bows and cross-bows which won Hastings, Hallidon Hill, Maupertius or Poitiers, and Agincourt, were inferior to them again, and to those of the Frederician wars.

"Then came that sublime collision between Northern tenacity and Southern ardor.

"Had there been, then and there, a general of the first class, or of the second class—which embraces such men as Wellington, Blucher, Saxe, and the five great pupils and successors of Gustavus—he would have divined the

destined point of impact, and hurried off his aides and orderlies, to the right and left, to hasten thither every disposable regiment. He would have constituted first, second, and third lines of reserve, as there were on the lower ground, further to the left, in the rear of the menaced left-centre; first, to strengthen the defence; second, to convert it, instantaneously, into a ruinous repulse by the mere weight of numerical superiority; third, to follow up the defeat, and, with the bayonet in the reins of the flying foe, to carry discomfiture into his lines, capture his uncovered artillery, which would not have dared to play upon the pursuers, from the fear of a simultaneous slaughter of the intervening, hard-pressed pursued.

“Such a catastrophe, it is clear, from the indications of the British Colonel Freemantle, was exactly that which the Confederate generals feared, and for a short time anticipated. Then it was that the fiery Pleasanton advised an immediate counter-blow, with the comprehensive suggestion that he gave his superior ‘the next two hours to make himself a great man,’ and urged an immediate advance of the whole army, or words of similar significance. Then it was that Hancock, the great soldier, wrote in his ambulance those few lines of earnest exhortation, imbued with the same spirit. Then it was that the lightning-eyed Warren expressed the same idea, and the reliable Crawford, sweeping forward at a later hour, on our left, drove the enemy toward the Emmetsburg Road and captured 250 prisoners, which might as well have been as many thousand as there were hundreds taken, had the whole Union army, horse and foot, moved out at once upon the enemy, like the allies at Waterloo.

“The world knows the result of Waterloo, and even such should have been the consequences of Gettysburg. Even as it was, the moral effects were momentous; and, amid the magnificent scenery of that glorious district of the forest land of Penn, Freedom was re-born, and simultaneously baptized, with the blood of its dearest, and bravest, and best. There, in the cradle of those three

days' conflict, without parallel, in the mighty questions dependent upon the wager of battle, and in the heroism displayed—enthusiastic, on the side of the aggressive, and determined, on the part of the defensive—'the Government of the People, for the People and by the People,' opened its eyes to a new birth, such as never before, in the history of the world, owed its delivery to the supreme effort of a volunteer people in arms.

"Is it not fair to presume that, if a Grant and Sheridan had been at Gettysburg, Lee's candlestick would have been removed out of its place July, 1863; or even the Rosecrans of Corinth, or the Sherman of Chattanooga, or the Thomas of Nashville—that symmetrical tower of strength?

"There is no justification for Lee, June 30th to July 4th, at any period or in any action, unless he had become so intoxicated with a series of fortunate results, due rather to the mistakes of others than any superior sagacity of his own, as to believe that his genius was above the commission of errors. In everything—every attribute, social, moral, military—Lee is a phantasm. Good fortune misled the Rebels into idealizing what they desired.

"Lee, having a fine presence, filled the idealistic Southern eye, as Stonewall Jackson fired the Southern heart, and the Rebels made him a god, attributing to him qualities which they imagined their great leader should combine, and, so imagining, accorded them to him. What their faith conceived, Lee did not possess. Represented as always clean-shaved, exceedingly neat, elegantly-attired, well got up, gentlemanly-mannered, mild-spoken, a moderate general—the world has taken gilding for gold, and out of a specious, selfish man, but not a great one, made an object of idolatrous worship.

"Lee had no need to attack, and, having arrested Ewell's 'Forwards,' the game was, to all appearance, in his hands to play it as he deemed wisest. Meade showed no disposition to attack Lee. At most, he would await Lee's aggressive. Even passive resistance, on the part of

the Union commander, at this point, was, at first, seemingly—if men's sworn testimony is correctly given—by no means a fixed determination. Consequently, all Lee had to do was to amuse our troops in their assumed position; and, in the same way that Albert Sidney Johnston passed his regiments, masked by a blind fire, to the right, and turned our left at Shiloh, Lee should have masked his movements by a lively cannonade, moved his troops under the blind of Oak Ridge, and turned our left at Gettysburg.

“Had Johnston lived, and had his plans succeeded, as they had prospered up to the time of his death, the Rebel army would have interposed itself between the Union army and the Tennessee, between it and its line of escape, its base of supplies, and every opportunity of succor. Had Johnston survived, and his flanking movement been completed (which movement was in the full tide of success when he fell,) the catastrophe to our army would have been fearful.

“Imagine the effect of a similar turning movement on the part of Lee. It would not only have placed him upon the roads constituting our line of supplies, and have given him the major part of our trains, but have planted him between the Northern army of succor and Washington and Baltimore. In other words, it would have delivered up everything, in the rear of the Army of the Potomac, into the hands of the Rebels.

“Judging from the Union general's quiescence after the repulse of Pickett, on the 3d, throughout the 4th, and the want of energy even on the 5th, Lee might have gained two days' march upon him, and forty-eight hours would have carried the Rebels either into Baltimore or Washington. Such games have been played before. Thus Laudohn vanished from before Frederic, after a thwarted preliminary campaign in front of the Camp of Buntzelwitz, in 1761, and by a 'Croat's-trick,' carried the first-class fortress of Schweidnitz—two days' journey distant from the king—strongly garrisoned and well supplied. By a similar movement Blucher deceived

Napoleon and captured Paris, in 1814, and eluded Grouchy, in 1815. What is more, in the very same way, Lee himself vanished from before McClellan, after Antietam, September 18th-19th, 1862, just as he did from before Meade, July 13th-14th, 1863.

“How Europe would have shouted and clapped had Lee done this! How Washington would have stammered and shook, and how the chief of chiefs would have explained to our great and good Lincoln how it happened, from disregard of his advice and principles of strategy, and how the loyal North would have wept, while rousing to new exertions! But that would not have saved us from the recognition of the Confederacy by Europe.

“That Lee did not attempt this, was his second great fault; that is, ignoring that his whole conduct at Gettysburg was one vast blunder, which proved what our best fighting general, and one of our best adjutant-generals, always asserted, that ‘Lee, with the means personal and material at his command, proved a failure.’ Let panegyrists weave all the laurels they can for him, and they cannot explain away the fact that, before Lee knew Stonewall Jackson, he was out-generalled and ejected from Western Virginia by Rosecrans, and, after he lost Stonewall Jackson, his career of success was ended.

“No general, not even Napoleon, had ever, at one time, seven such subordinates, inspired with one idea, spurred by the same will, in earnest, and working together, as Lee had. We never had in our army anything approaching such a simultaneous union of such corps or division commanders, inspired, as it were, with one idea, and working, heart and soul, to the same end.

“The Union victory at South Mountain is the severest condemnation upon Meade’s failure to follow and break up Lee’s army, on its retreat from Gettysburg, in 1863, since the Union Army forced, triumphantly and with comparative ease in 1862, passes of the same range, held by hitherto victorious troops, and much more susceptible of defence than those which they would have had to carry in 1863, when those weaker passes were occupied by

troops decidedly beaten and fought but in a three days' battle, demoralized, in some respects at least, deficient in ammunition, and much more so in food, and embarrassed with numerous trains conveying a multitude of wounded.

"In September, 1862, Lee had not been defeated; his troops were almost invincible, in the conviction of their superior soldiership, and were justified in a high opinion of their prowess by a succession of undoubted victories, and yet Lee and his troops were thoroughly worsted on stronger ground than Meade would have had to fight on, in following them up, in 1863. In 1862 the Army of Northern Virginia was driven from positions of very great natural strength by troops which it had defeated on open and favorable fields—by troops led by a General who had certainly never proved a very great conqueror, with odds, and under circumstances much more favorable to him. It is strange Meade did not think of all this.

"The application of all this justifies the conclusion that God permitted the escape of Lee, after Gettysburg, because the times were not ripe for the utter discomfiture of the Rebel army. While, at the same time, under every human consideration, circumstances demonstrated that the Army of Northern Virginia should, then and there, have been captured or destroyed. Had this been accomplished, it is questionable if the end, for which the 'Slaveholders' Rebellion' was permitted, would have been attained. The attitude of the South, current events, political combinations, all go to prove that the war, even as it was, ended almost too soon. Had it terminated sooner, it is very questionable if the battle would not now have to be fought over again.

"The immense results, which crowned Gettysburg, all flowed from the depletion of the Rebel army, through its sacrifice by Lee, that is, its actual loss in the battle, 36,000 of its best men, the consequent straggling and desertion, proper. Gettysburg, although the decisive battle of the War, and a great battle, on account of the numbers engaged and the vast interests at stake, was not a great battle in the scientific sense of the word.

“Antietam, if won at all, was won in Turner’s and Fox Gaps, and, in itself, was a drawn battle, in which the awful prodigality of loyal blood was not even requited by the immediate possession of the battle-field.

“At Gettysburg, the Army of the Potomac at length was indeed victorious, and, being so, the fate of the war was decided, and the cause and the country were victorious.

“For this crowning victory, for this salvation, we owe no gratitude but to the Lord of Hosts, and to the host which championed His cause; to the dead who fell, or sleep on that verdant hill which they enriched with their life-blood, or wherever the dead and mutilated of this decisive conflict lie; and to the living men, who, in contact with the enemy, not with their heads, but with their bodies and their hands, stood up to fight, and fought out, where they stood, the mightiest deliverance ever achieved—since humanity had acknowledged rights—for humanity.”

CHAPTER XLIII

AMERICA'S GREATEST MILITARY CRITIC

As early as 1867 a British officer, a graduate of Woolwich, wrote, "The works of General de Peyster will serve as text books for the future military historical studies of the Republic, as in terseness of style, display of military research, and correctness of topographical delineation (the latter the most difficult branch of the art of military writing), they are quite equal to the works of the foreign authorities whose books stood foremost in our Royal Military Academy. The beauty of his style is far excelled by the minute accuracy of his statement."*

In a letter dated 7 July, 1869, Brevet Major-General A. Pleasanton speaks of General de Peyster's "great acquaintance with military matters, his long and faithful research into the military histories of modern nations, his correct comprehension of our late war, and his intimacy with many of our leading generals and statesmen during the period of its continuance." Others, competent to judge, speak in the same strain.

"His judgment of military matters is almost infallible," wrote General John Gross Barnard, brother of the late President Barnard of Columbia College. "He is thoroughly conversant with all the military operations of both armies during the late war," said Major-General Henry W. Slocum. "His keen eye for topography, his long and still unceasing military education, his uncommon memory, his powers of description, and his opportunities for using his ability, constitute him the only, as well as the first, military critic in America," was the verdict of Brigadier-General William P. Wainwright. "He has accumulated a wonderful amount of original matter, some of which is absolutely invaluable, and I

*New York Citizen, 21 December, 1867.

expect to avail myself of it," wrote General Adam Badeau, during the preparation of his well-known work on Grant's campaigns, in a letter to Major-General A. A. Humphreys. General Humphreys himself, writing to General de Peyster, 29 September, 1872, said:

"You would not think I had lost interest in the subject of your labors, had you heard me talk to some Philadelphians about the pursuit of Lee. I learnt only this summer of the effect of Stanton's telegram, on the 6th or 7th of April, giving the whole credit of overtaking and attacking Lee, on the 6th of April, to Sheridan. 'There,' they said in Philadelphia (I am told), 'the generals of the Army of the Potomac are laggards; it required Sheridan and Grant to overtake and beat Lee.' What an outrage on Wright and myself that telegram was! We, laggards! The impression thus made on the public, in this moment of success, has never been effaced; it remains to this day. To you I am indebted, my dear General, for the first presentation of the subject to the public that will tend to efface this impression."

In another letter to General de Peyster, written 30 May, 1872, General Humphreys says, "I fully appreciate your labors, which I am conscious have brought into clear relief what was before obscure and ill-defined. Let me for a moment suppose I am writing to a friend, not yourself—for you are one of the few persons to whom one may write, as it were, impersonally, and that implies a very high tribute to your sense of the just.

"Your industry in collecting facts upon any subject you treat of is literally untiring. In a long experience among the working men of the country, I have rarely found your equal, never, I think, your superior; and I may pay the same tribute to your conscientious labor, in the task of evolving the truth from the mass of matter collected, much of it contradictory and apparently irreconcilable with any known truths. Possessing a clear appreciation of the great fundamental principles which should govern military operations and battles, you are quick to perceive adherence to, or departure from them,



JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER
From a Photograph taken in 1888

and as the extended study of the great military writers and historians has imbued your mind with just military views, so has it richly stored your memory with a redundant supply of apt illustrative examples for every important event or incident of our war.

“To all these qualifications of a military critic, you have added a ready, rapid, courageous pen, and a power of application that physical ailments, growing out of a delicate physique, have not impaired, though they have sorely tried it.”

The late Captain Mayne Reid pronounced General de Peyster “the most learned military historian and ablest military critic America has yet produced.” General McAllister speaks of him as “the man whose patriotism was equal to so much research and patience,” and in a letter to General de Peyster, 19 January, 1875, he says, “You, my dear General, deserve the gratitude of a class of officers who were not bold enough to push their claims at Washington, who never flinched in the hour of battle, without whose bravery all would be lost, who, when promotions were to be had, allowed others to carry off the prize who were at a very safe distance from the battle storm.”

“Foremost among the military writers of America stands the author of some half a dozen pamphlets now lying on our desk,” writes the editor of the *Lornette*, in August, 1870. “During the continuance, and since the conclusion, of our great war, the writings of *Anchor* have attracted the attention of thousands of readers. He has done more than any one else (not excepting the famed Committee on the conduct of the War) to show to us, in their true light, the characters of nearly all the leading generals who cheered us with victory, or disheartened us with defeat, during our long five years of desolation. His analyses of the battles of Antietam and Gettysburg are masterpieces. By these two books alone, if he had written nothing else, the author has earned the gratitude of his country. Now that the mists of prejudice are fast being dispelled by the sunlight of truth, it will be found

that these works will be accepted by the historian, yet to come, as the authentic, truthful stories of those momentous conflicts."

Sir Edward Cust, English General and author of "Annals of the Wars," nine volumes, and "Lives of the Warriors," six volumes, in his last volume addressed a dedicatory letter of twenty-eight pages to General de Peyster, in which he said, "I am desirous of marking my deep obligations to you by requesting the permission to dedicate my concluding volume to you and to your military brethren. We appear to be men of much the same mind, and of common sympathies, desirous alike of employing our common language for a common object—that of enlightening our comrades of a common profession with the necessity of applying the precepts of military history to the useful comprehension of their calling, both of us agreeing that the best instruction for all officers is to be acquired from the deeds of the old masters in the art of war.

"The United States were on the eve of a melancholy crisis of international conflict, when you naturally wished and you very reasonably desired to show, by the introduction of a better system of war, how to stay the waste of blood among your countrymen in a strife which made every brother on either side a soldier. I, on the other hand, had fallen 'upon the sere and yellow leaf,' and had, as an old stager, become disturbed by the intrusion of a new school at our military colleges, preëminent among the instructors of military history, who were seeking to introduce a theory of war against which I sought to recommend a knowledge of the past, or, as you put it, 'practical strategy.'

"I do not claim the merit of originality. My works were written by me for the use of youths who have already entered the service of arms, and whose career has commenced, but whose profession has yet to be learned. You address the higher ranks of the army, and appear to seek to philosophize the art of war by showing it to be capable, under its most scientific phases, of being less

lavish of human blood. To both our grievances the remedy is the same—practical strategy. I readily accept from you this expression. It comprises all that can be said or written upon skill in war, and while I agree with you that this is best evinced by sparing the lives of its instruments as much as possible, I hold that this is, in fact, the whole art of war.”

Unfortunately, the larger part of General de Peyster's writings on the Civil War appeared in pamphlets or in the pages of current periodicals. As he wrote to Rear-Admiral George H. Preble, 10 November, 1879, “I have written and published more than would fill fifteen volumes like my Kearny,* but I was very unwise in printing small editions, or else wasting my labors in weeklies and other periodicals, so that I have scarcely anything to show for the work of years.”

Later on he almost ceased writing upon the Civil War. He gives his reasons in a letter to Colonel Asa Bird Gardner, 27 August, 1878. Colonel Gardner, at that time professor of law at West Point, was counsel for the Government in the Fitz John Porter case. He wrote to General de Peyster, 26 August, 1878: “Porter is re-trying the entire case, so that evidence on any point of the original trial will be material. I have read your *Life of Kearny* with much satisfaction. You have given the 1862 August campaign careful attention, and must know the names and addresses of valuable witnesses. Pray help me in this matter, and give me the benefit of your energetic voice, and let me know where I can obtain needed evidence.” In his reply, General de Peyster says, in part:

“Judges admitted that no man was better posted on our Civil War than I was, but after the delivery of my last speech on Thomas, I came so near losing one of my best friends, through some severe but truthful remarks on Halleck, that I gave up writing on the Rebellion. Previous to this, two generals came near having a duel, on account of facts furnished by one of them to me for

*An octavo volume of five hundred and twelve pages.

publication. On another occasion, a controversy got so hot that it brought out one of our Major-Generals in print, stating that he would hold himself personally responsible for the statements in my articles. Finally, two personal friends, Corps Commanders, clashed on another subject I was discussing. Then I made up my mind that I would not give rise to this continual bickering. I laid aside my pen, and took to Revolutionary matters."

This allusion to a prospective duel is explained in a letter from General de Peyster to the Count of Paris, 1 August, 1877: "I wrote a Life, or rather biographical sketch,* of Mahone, which was very much liked, North and South, when Jubal Early came down upon him. Mahone had my sketch called in, and paid for printing another. I consented to this, at Mahone's request, but I never would issue the second. I consented by the advice of Rosecrans and other generals, but I never altered my opinion of Mahone. He was an 'A No. 1' fighting commander. Why he yielded to Early, passes my understanding."

In spite of his resolution, however, General de Peyster could not altogether cease to write upon our great war of secession. Articles by him, and biographies of the commanders, appeared from time to time. No student of the Civil War who has failed to study his monographs should deem himself competent to speak critically upon the subject.

Next in value are his studies of the battles, campaigns, and generals of the American Revolution—a war, which, apart from General de Peyster's writings, has been neglected by expert military criticism. In the course of his studies on the Revolutionary War, as in connection with almost every subject on which he wrote, he ransacked every source of information, collecting a valuable special library.

In a letter to the Count of Paris, 3 August, 1877, he

*It appeared in Dawson's Historical Magazine.

says, "I have been writing extensively, during the past year, on the Burgoyne campaign of 1777 for the newspapers, and, in doing so, I went back to the original sources of information, examining, in this connection, over one hundred and fifty volumes. I find the ordinary story in history, so styled, a fancy picture, painted to the prejudice of the right. The main facts are indisputable—that is, the dates, localities, and results—but the 'how' and the 'why' are all presented according to the bias of the writer.

"Burgoyne was simply swamped and starved out, and both results were due to himself. In July, victory was within his grasp, and he would not close his fingers upon it. His campaign of three months very much resembles the Gettysburg battle of three days, Burgoyne representing Lee. Meade had the Rebel army in his hands, after Pickett's failure. But it was the affair of an instant—an omitted counter blow in force, from the Union left and centre, would have carried ruin with it to Lee. An earthquake takes but a few seconds to overthrow a Lisbon, or devastate a province. Just so with a great success in war. It is immediate, audacious, ruinous."

Valuable also are General de Peyster's numerous monographs on the campaigns, battles, and generals of the Thirty Years' War. As in other cases, he collected a remarkable library of authorities. A critical estimation of these will be found in his "Literature of the Thirty Years' War." Almost all the European wars which occurred during his lifetime drew forth a series of articles or pamphlets. He also wrote upon Frederick the Great and the campaigns of the Seven Years' War, published a series on the Dutch Admirals, and many monographs on Dutch exploration, the origins of Holland, and various phases of Dutch military and political history.

In his later years he put forth a series of monographs on Napoleon Bonaparte and the Waterloo campaign, and, during their preparation, accumulated a special library, perhaps the most valuable and complete on Napoleon in America.

In addition to his military writings he published articles and pamphlets so numerous upon a range of subjects so wide as to be fairly amazing. The reader who glances at the long list of titles in the bibliography at the end of this volume must recognize a versatility which has scarcely had a parallel in the history of American letters.

General de Peyster was indefatigable in research. In the elucidation of many non-military subjects he followed his habit of accumulating exhaustive special libraries of authorities. This was notably the case in connection with his monographs on Mary Queen of Scots and Bothwell, a series which included an historical drama.

A man of strong convictions, General de Peyster was emphatic in enforcing them. He was not without prejudices, and could be a powerful partisan of the cause he espoused. With these qualities apparent in his writings, no one can avoid the conviction that he was an earnest lover of the truth. The sentence found in one of his letters might be inscribed upon all his writings, "If I accomplish my purpose of influencing public opinion in the cause of truth, I will have done all that I desire."

CHAPTER XLIV

ESTIMATES OF MEN

On 9 March, 1866, General de Peyster gave a birthday breakfast, the first of a remarkable series of breakfasts and dinners which were continued for nearly thirty years. They were given at the General's town house, number Fifty-nine East Twenty-first Street, with the exceptions of the dinners of 1879 and 1880, at Pinard's, number Six East Fifteenth Street. At the twenty-first dinner, in 1886, General de Peyster gave to each of his guests a brochure containing an account of preceding celebrations, with lists of the guests and the following introductory note from his pen:

"The origin of these commemorative gatherings was an inspiration. After the great American Conflict for the suppression of the 'Slaveholders' Rebellion' was an accomplished fact, my house became the gathering place of a large number of officers, officials, and individuals, who had participated in the glorious triumph, or contributed to it by their labors and influence. What glorious times we had and how many truths were revealed! Little did we dream that, within twenty years, so many, covered with honor, and joyous in spirit, would have gone to join the larger army 'beyond the river,' and that the traitors to their country, who had been crushed by bullets, would be back in power, by the force of ballots and bull-dozing.

"One of the many who met together and kept up the rejoicing, day and night, through the Autumn and Winter of 1865-66, was Captain Frederic Lahrbush, who had spent his best days in crushing that arch-traitor to liberty, Napoleon Bonaparte, in the same way that his younger associates had periled everything, or so much, in putting down another arch-traitor to liberty, Jefferson

Davis. One day this veteran of the preceding century remarked, 'My birthday is on the coming 9th of March, 1865, and at that date I shall be one hundred years old.' The host replied, 'The 9th of March is also my birthday.' One of those present, Major Willard Bullard, exclaimed, 'Why not celebrate the coincidence by an entertainment.' The proposition was received with acclamation, and the affair arranged upon the spot.

'The centenarian lived an abnormal life. He turned night into day. At the hour when the majority of the world sit down to dine and are widest awake, he was compelled, by the habits of half a century, to go to rest. He was one of the most extraordinary opium eaters noted in medical records. His daily dose, for years, had been one hundred grains, and he could toss off a huge goblet of laudanum with as much impunity as ordinary men can drink a tumbler of burgundy.

"To accommodate his inexorable mode of life, it was resolved to have a breakfast-dinner at 11 A. M., so that the soldier, crowned with one hundred years, could enjoy the festivities and go home at an earlier hour than even the 'earliest birds' are winging their way—at the same period of the year, before the real spring opens—to their accustomed roosting places.

"The idea was indeed an inspiration, and those who were present at the first gathering, 9th March, 1866, were the individuals who were in the room when the Commemorative Banquet was decided upon. Not all, because several were called away by duty, or prevented by accident, but the majority. Of the nineteen who met together on the 9th of March, 1866, seven are dead, and, of the rest, the majority are scattered—not likely thus to meet again.

"When Captain Lahrbusch had about attained his one hundred and eighth year, 9th March, 1873, painful circumstances occurred which prevented his presence, and it was then decided that, as mid-day was an inconvenient hour for the assembling of the guests, the noon-tide festival should be changed into a dinner, as being

more consonant with the habits of the world. Thenceforward, these commemorative gatherings were dinners, of which the present one, 9th March, 1886, will be the twenty-first.

“One of the most remarkable features of these gatherings are the vast distances traveled, on one occasion or another, by different guests. A day’s journey has been in no wise regarded, and, more than once, a thousand miles has been traversed. One hundred miles has been deemed no obstacle whatever. May it ever be so, and may the bond of union, and the appeal of friendship, be always regarded as a reason, and as a triumphant call, for the assembly!

“In conclusion, what saddening reminiscences throw a shadow over each recurring festivity! Within the past twenty years, how many of those who have thus annually met, have ‘crossed the dark river!’ The Past seems like a dream, in which their respected and beloved faces loom up like glorified visions, or witnesses, of one of the grandest phases in human history. The future is a doubt, *Gandeamus igitur!* while it is so permitted.

“Besides those who have met together, living and dead, many have intended to be present whose acceptances were traversed, or nullified, by terrible casualties, by sudden sickness, imperative orders, by accident, or by unforeseen exigencies. Many generals were prevented from attending by the imperative calls of duty, as in the cases, without further mention, of Major-General George H. Thomas, ‘our greatest and our best,’ and Major-General John Pope, the most cruelly vilified and misrepresented of our commanders, although one of our most able and loyal leaders during the war.

“Rear-Admiral George H. Preble died suddenly, of heart disease, exactly one week before the last meeting, 1885, just as ‘pure gold’ Humphreys, second as a soldier to none other but George H. Thomas, had passed away without a sign a short time previous. Sickness and sudden orders twice prevented the attendance of Admiral Baldwin, U. S. N., and, in various years, other gentlemen

of note, who had accepted and made all their arrangements to be present.

"Gandeamus igitur! while the opportunity occurs, 'crown the bowl with flowers,' and let us be thankful that, while so many have departed, or have been summoned hence, so many remain to take each other by the hand, to join in an affectionate exchange of greetings, and to celebrate the most glorious phase of the Fatherland in such commemorative brotherhoods of good feelings."

The same guests being invited again and again, the succeeding dinners began to take on the character of reunions. Those present at different times included, Major-Generals, Irwin McDowell, Joseph Hooker, Alfred Pleasanton, Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, Winfield Scott Hancock, John F. Hartranft, Daniel E. Sickles, G. K. Warren, Horatio G. Wright, Nelson A. Miles, Alexander S. Webb, Abner Doubleday, Francis C. Barlow, George W. Cullum, S. W. Crawford, William D. Whipple, Joseph B. Carr, James B. Fry, Alexander Shaler, William S. Rosecrans, Eugene A. Carr, Henry L. Abbott, Z. B. Tower, Albion P. Howe, Quincy A. Gilmore, W. F. Smith, John G. Barnard, Joseph E. Hamblin; Brigadier-Generals H. Edwin Tremaine, John Meredith Read, J. F. Rodenbough, Paul A. Oliver, I. Vodges, William P. Wainwright, Charles S. Wainwright, H. B. Wallen; Admiral Farragut, Rear-Admiral J. W. A. Nicholson, Commodore Charles H. Baldwin, Commander Frederic Pearson, Major J. M. Bundy, editor of the Evening Mail, John Swinton, editor of the Times, George Alfred Townsend ("Gath") and Paul Forbes, famous war correspondents, Frank P. Church, proprietor of the Army and Naval Journal, Robert B. Roosevelt, John W. Hamersley, Whitelaw Reid, Colonel John Hay, James W. Gerard, Sir William G. Johnston, Bart., La Fayette S. Foster, and William Cullen Bryant.

"Your dinners are the only really memorable dinners I ever attended," writes Major J. M. Bundy, 25 February, 1884, in accepting his invitation for that year. "Such

royal gatherings are not to be foregone without great necessity," writes General Doubleday. "It is *the* thing of the springtime to me," writes General Crawford. "I look with heartfelt pleasure," wrote General Joseph B. Carr, in 1887, "as the year rolls around, the return of that event, when I am, by your courteousness, permitted to meet so many brave and gallant spirits."

A melancholy feature was added, from time to time, as death robbed the circle of one after another of the familiar faces. Major Bundy wrote, in 1887, "I am grateful for your kind and continued remembrance of myself as one of the guests at your annual birthday dinners. I have had a large and varied experience of dinners, but these dinners of yours stand by themselves and are simply incomparable and perfect. As the circle grows smaller of the old diners, its members become dearer and more interesting to one another, and they are all brave souls for whom—when 'the dead live'—I, for one, have no fears." "The changes since last March," runs one of the letters of acceptance from General Rodenbough, "will invest it with a sad and peculiar interest. General Humphreys sat opposite me then. I shall miss his kind face and gentle ways."

In a copy of his brochure on these dinners in which General de Peyster had made notes we find the following: "The giver of these parties was often urged, in order to give them more eclat before the public, to invite some officers of the highest rank; but he would not knowingly break bread, at home or abroad, with any one who had wronged George H. Thomas, or who had failed John Pope while he was in command of the Army of Virginia in 1862."

This brings us to General de Peyster's opinions of public men. A loyal friend, he also was what men call a "good hater." He had, however, solid reasons, which to him seemed convincing, for his convictions. The reminiscences which he left include the following pungent characterizations.

"I have often been asked why I do not write down

impressions made upon me by at least some of the many prominent men whom I have known. For the reason that the majority did not impress me favorably, nor could I see evidence of the greatness attributed to them.

"I have seen the Count de Lesseps, 'builder of the Suez Canal.' I have heard so much about him—his youngness for his years. Contrasted with my father, who is eighty-three, I should call him an old man for his years. To me he looks like a hale, tough old gentleman, with every indication of being three score years and ten, without infirmities. If my memory of faces is at all correct, he bears a great deal of resemblance to the portraits of old Governor George Clinton. To me his expression is not so intelligent as cunning, in the good sense of the word, as it is ordinarily used. The French have a term which Henry IV. applied to the great Lesdiguières, '*Ce fin renard.*' I suppose this comprehends shrewd, and close, and sly, without intending to cast any reflection upon honor.

"Lesseps is about the average size of men, but he is built to last,—like every man whom I have ever met, who has attained longevity, plenty of room for all the vital functions, especially digestion. To me he is neither a striking nor attractive man, and, with all the world-wide eulogiums which have been passed upon him, I doubt great ability, if physiognomy is an indication. Energy, decision, good judgment, attention to business, and shrewdness, are his strong points.

"I never could see any genius, or engineering, in the Suez Canal. It was simply a question of plenty of money, and work, less costly than 'Chinese cheap labor.' There is scarcely one canal in the world whose completion has required less science; and that only one is the Mahmoudieh, which Mahomet Ali built with the barbarism of nascent Egyptian lacquer of civilization.

"Lesseps had the advantage of the past 6,000 years of scientific developments. To a common sense mind, the question seems, rather, whether, if he had failed, the wonder would not have been greater than his success.

“I have often been disappointed in the world’s favorites. From common report, I certainly expected a very different man in the Count de Lesseps.

“President Van Buren owed his start in life to absolutely boot-licking a rich client in his native place. This man exacted implicit compliance with his vagaries, and Van Buren would ride with him into Hudson, many a time, under a July sun, in a double horse sleigh, to the music of mis-timed bells. My father-in-law, John Swift Livingston, lived in Claverack, and has often related Van Buren’s tricks, in early life, to gain money.

“He was the most haughty President before the people I ever saw, and the only one whom nothing could induce to make a speech to his followers, who had assembled at Poughkeepsie to greet him, in 1839, on his way from Gouverneur Kemble’s, at Cold Spring, to his home at Kinderhook. He traveled elegantly, but without ostentation, in a light carriage and pair, with one or more outriders in plain liveries; grooms and coachmen, colored.

“Although I had no respect for him, I must say he looked and acted like a gentleman, and he treated his Democratic constituents, on this occasion, as they deserved—just as a dignified master would a crowd of mouthing dependents. He came out on the balcony, or second story piazza, of the Forbess House, bowed, stood a few moments to allow the crowd to cheer themselves hoarse, shook his head quietly, but decidedly, to every invitation to speak, and, after a short period, retired. How different the conduct of Clay, at his reception in the same town!

“Of all the Presidents that I have ever seen—Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison, Tyler, Taylor, Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln, Johnson, Grant—the noblest figure was Millard Fillmore. He was a perfect type of what an American President should be, affable yet dignified, with a very fine presence. Jackson looked like a man, but was a decidedly rough specimen. Van Buren, polished but foxy; he looked his character. Harri-

son, an invalid. Tyler, a sharp Virginian—that is, keener than the Yankee, with better manners. Taylor, another rough specimen, but a man with a benevolent, hearty expression, which Jackson lacked.

“Fillmore belonged to the Washingtonian type. Pierce, in a crowd, would never have attracted the attention of a single person. ‘Old Buck,’ like General Halleck, suggested the idea of a cunning country attorney and politician, who had made money and could afford to wear good clothes. No words could express Lincoln’s uncouthness, and my interview with him was painful, when I thought such a man was my President. What legs he had! Johnson betrayed his origin. To me, Grant looked like a light-weight prize-fighter.

“I forgot to mention Monroe. He was exactly like all his likenesses, painted and engraved. A venerable gentleman, of the old school. I have omitted Polk, but I have seen him. He bore some resemblance to Jackson, without the leonine expression. Marcy, the great war secretary, was a specimen Democrat, who, with his chewing and squirting tobacco-juice, could be a black-guard with the best of them.

“A French military writer, speaking of Grant, justly remarks that the closer and longer his career is investigated, the less and less will be his reputation. He was no general, except according to the estimate put upon Napoleon by Kloeber and Moreau, ‘a general at six to ten thousand lives a day.’ That was the opinion that I always had of him, and so my judgment stands upon the record, not published *apres coup*, but in an analytical parallel, printed in the Army and Navy Journal, during the war, or immediately after its close.

“About one man I confess I made a very great mistake, Sherman. Carried away by popular clamor and the misrepresentation of newspaper correspondents, I was deluded into accepting him as a general in the grand sense of the title. I deplore my mistake, and acknowledge it in sackcloth and ashes. After I had a talk with my friend, General George H. Thomas, and I had studied up the

matter, then indeed, I recognized the justice of the remark of Thomas, that 'the country had reason to thank heaven that he (Thomas) was with Sherman to serve as a balance wheel.'

"I have never seen Sheridan. I have been invited to meet him and always refused. I do not think that his ability equals his reputation, and I know that his injustice to Warren and to Wright is without excuse. He either made himself the tool of Grant and Meade in regard to Warren, or else he had no sense of justice in himself. In regard to Cedar Creek, he certainly acted cruelly with respect to Wright. I cannot see where he was great, except that he undoubtedly possessed physical courage, energy, and endurance—all three chief requisites in a general, in a very high degree.

"The greatest man I have ever known intimately was George H. Thomas. Take him all in all and in every way, he was the greatest man that this country has ever produced. Even conceding to Washington the fabulous purity and greatness attributed to him, he will still fall far below Thomas as a perfect character. Sherman was assisted by Schofield, and a lot of smaller insects, to annoy and sting Thomas to death. Sherman said that 'Thomas was like the sun, but even the sun had spots upon it.' This may be true, seeing that nothing is known as to the character of the spots on the sun, so that if they were thoroughly comprehended they might turn out to be anything but blemishes.

"The equable gentleness of the tones of the voice of Thomas led many to suppose that he was not decisive in his opinions. Never was there a greater mistake: his condemnations were the more severe in that they were totally destitute of temper. His review, for instance, of McClellan, and criticism of his military action, was scathing. It was like the earthquake at Lisbon, leaving everything behind it in ruins. Thomas was magnificent in appearance, as he was perfect in character, and immense in ability.

"Next to Thomas, above him in scientific ability, equal

to him in military capacity, but below him in exquisite poise as a cube-like whole, was General Andrew Atkinson Humphreys. The epithet won by Thomas, "The Rock of Chickamauga."—the *Rock*—would not apply to Humphreys. While the form and demeanor of Thomas made the same impression as the serenity, combined with power, expressed by the Sphynx, Humphreys manifested through voice and manner, the excitability of the Welsh blood in his veins. At times, in danger, he was a granite boulder, but it did not take much to convert that boulder into a ball of fire.

"The expression has been applied to several great generals that, in common life, especially in ladies' society, they exhibited the gentleness of the lamb, whereas in battle they had all the grand qualities attributed to a lion. It would be more just to say tiger, or, to speak with greater exactness, the leopard, for the tiger is a braver animal than the nominal king of beasts, and the Indian leopard is recognized by hunters as the bravest of all beasts of prey."

We subjoin here an estimate of Grant, published by General de Peyster in 1867, in his "Decisive Conflicts."

"To those who urge that the capture of Vicksburg was a first-class event, the answer must be given: Yes, as a mere incidental fight; but, then, that fight was needless, if Vicksburg had been occupied, after the crushing defeat of the rebels at Corinth (second), as it might have been. All the subsequent operations, tending thereto, were certainly superfluous in a philosophical and utilitarian consideration. Strategy is subject to immutable laws, and nature itself indicates its objective keypoints. Therefore, as a study, decisive battles are those which settle the possession of those keypoints, even when subordinate supplemental operations are required to occupy them.

"Were not Forts Henry and Donelson carried by overpowering forces, just as Dufour, in 1847, captured the Heights of Gislikon, the key to the Swiss secession stronghold, Lucerne? Was not Shiloh saved by Buell's

numbers? Was not Chattanooga, second, fought, two to one, and carried, so to speak, with a rush? Was not Vicksburg starved out, when direct attacks, of great numerical superiority, had failed? Was not Lee 'swarmed out,' from the Rapidan to Richmond, and the evacuation of the latter ultimately compelled by laying waste the Shenandoah Valley, by cutting off its supplies in all quarters, 'its gate,' literally, 'smitten with destruction,' and the Army of Northern Virginia finally overrun by such a multitudinous charge as usually accompanies the triumphs of intelligent Eastern and Tartar war?

"In treating of the final campaign—that blood-bath or ford from the Rapidan to the James—the writer's ingenuity is taxed, in selecting from the military terms in ordinary use, and as generally received, to find one to express his meaning. It was not a regular campaign, for the fighting was almost unintermittent, and it can scarcely be said that it was a series of battles, for one day's fight so ran into the others as to make it one continual fight, with scarce a definite interruption, or period, or room between them for a hyphen, to separate one engagement from another, until the disappointed army settled down in its lines before Petersburg, when active operations merged into the siege or investment of Petersburg and Richmond.

"The preliminary jungle fights, May 3d-7th, aye, 22d, it might be said, resemble most closely, of any which present themselves to the memory, the battles of Tann, Abensberg, Landshut, and Eckmuhl, April 19th-23d, 1809—those master-strokes in which Napoleon exulted as the crowning glory of his military leadership, as 'his finest, his boldest, his wisest manœuvres,' 'the most brilliant of his life,' 'never excelled by the operations either of himself or any other general.' But what different results followed the Wilderness butcheries of 1864, and the Forest battles of 1809!

"Grant, on the other hand, presents a combination of the peculiarities of Suwarrow, Blucher, Pelissier, and kindred spirits, whose indomitable perseverance, whose

Forwards! Forwards! fed the fire of resistance with fresh columns of headlong attack, until its violence was quenched in blood and extinguished beneath the feet of charging life. Witness the spring campaign of 1864. Grant, according to the analysis of one of the best dissectors of character—Grant is no strategist, as the term is generally used; but a Thor-striker, whose road to his object is corduroyed with dead men.

“Had Grant lived at an earlier date, he might have been assigned to that class of Commanders-in-Chief—Attila, Genghis-Kahn, Tamourlane, and other Eastern conquerors—who expedited massive columns, with resistless fury, upon awaiting entrenchments, squares and lines, and overran, or overwhelmed, nations; dismissing tens of thousands to the onset, with a suggestive and imperative motion of command; leaving to subordinate ability and vigor, courage and discipline, to meet and provide against the details of accomplishment; somewhat as Napoleon, by a wave of the arm, hurled forward an important attack at Eylau, or Suwarrow, by a laconic order, indicated the onsets and manœuvres of Novi, 1799, ‘Kray and Bellegrade will attack the left, the Russians the centre, Melas the right!’ ‘God wills, the Emperor orders, Suwarrow commands that to-morrow the enemy be conquered.’

“Taking Napoleon, at his own estimate of himself, as expressed in his own analysis of his own tactics, many admirers of Grant would not be unwilling to accept a comparison to him as a compliment. ‘It is always the most obstinate general, and the one who can stand a larger expenditure, or more profuse waste of men, who gains a battle.’ What a contrast does this confession present to the principle of Turenne, ‘to economize the blood of the soldier’? This last was likewise Vauban’s cherished sentiment, lavish brain work, economize life! and what is the result?

“Turenne, according to Napoleon’s own admission, was the only general who grew greater and greater, by experience, as long as he lived—greatest, most admired, honored

by friend and opponent, universally lamented, when he fell. The same as regards Vauban. Whereas, Napoleon was never so great as at his rising. In the earlier stages of his career he triumphed by address, afterward by numbers; at first, by consummate skill, at last, by profuse waste of blood and overpowering force, annealed into mass by iron discipline.

“Napoleon often justified the energetic expression of Kleber, who styled him ‘a general at 6,000 men, or lives, a day.’ The nomades of Asia had produced Napoleons; witness Attila, Genghis-Kahn, Tamourlane; yes, the barbarian races of Africa, for example, Xingha-Bandi, Moselekatse, whom Moffat in his South Africa, styles ‘the Napoleon of the Desert.’ Where, on the other hand, have such men as Gustavus, Turenne, Vauban, Cohorn, Washington, Wellington, arisen, but in the bosom of the highest, i.e., purest phase of civilization?”

CHAPTER XLV

POWERS OF PREDICTION

General de Peyster was remarkably successful in forecasting the course of military campaigns and their results. Many of his prophesies, before and during the Civil War, were such accurate foreshadowings of what occurred, that they seem more like comments after the events. He displayed his astonishing powers of prediction in connection with all the wars which occurred after he had begun his military studies.

In 1853, returning from his military tours in Europe, he excited great surprise by predicting that, before thirty years had passed, the Prussians would be back in Paris. When we recall the apparently secure eminence on which France stood in the year 1853, and the weak and humble state of Prussia, we wonder at the boldness of such a forecast. In eighteen years, however, the prediction was fulfilled. Upon the outbreak of the Turkish War of 1854-55 he accurately foreshadowed, in published articles, the triumph of the Turks. In a letter to Aristarchi Bey, Minister from Turkey to the United States, 6 August, 1877, General de Peyster refers to this.

“Perhaps there is not another man in this country,” he writes, “who knows how much your army has been called upon to do, in Bosnia, Montenegro, Herzegovnia, Servia, etc., how well it was done, and how Montenegro would have been subjugated, long since, if Austria and Russia had not interfered, stirred up, and aided the semi-savages. I wrote for a military journal quite a long narrative of the war of 1828-1829, and believe that if the Sultan had not been deceived by foreign diplomats, in 1829, as to the state of the Russian army at Adrianople, Diebitsch might have been made bitterly to regret that he ever crossed the Balkans (only possible after

Varna was taken), and would never have won the title of 'Tabalkausky.'

"No troops ever fought better than the Turkish, under Omar Pasha, in 1854-1855. My predictions, in print, as to their success in the Servian campaign, were verified to the letter. At Mr. Hamersley's, this spring, I offered to bet a dinner for the whole party, twelve or fourteen, that the Russians would not winter south of the Balkans, or get to Constantinople in two years, if the Russians and Turks were left to fight it out between themselves. I did not dream, at that time, that the Roumanians, after so many terrible lessons as they have learned at the Russians' hands, would again allow themselves to be made a cat's-paw."

In 1859, with singular accuracy, General de Peyster predicted the course and result of the Austro-French-Italian war. His printed articles, of that period, show that he foresaw the exact series of occurrences.

In the final struggle between Grant and Lee, just before the battle of Petersburg, General de Peyster was asked by a prominent editor what it was possible for Lee to do to better his situation. De Peyster replied, "Punch Grant's line near 'Fort Hell' [Stedman]! If made with adequate numbers, this sortie, in force, can get possession of Grant's depots, and destroy his accumulated supplies of food, ammunition, and other material at City Point. This, at least, will cause great delay, and such a blow may have incalculable effects upon the result." A few days later this very sortie, made by Lee, failed only because of the smallness of the force which he was enabled to employ.

In 1864 the editor-in-chief of the New York Times expressed a conviction that the ancient Romans had no medical staff connected with their army. General de Peyster, challenging the opinion, was told that it was the conclusion reached by a famous professor, who maintained that if a medical department had existed in his army, Caesar would have mentioned the fact in his Commentaries. "Does Caesar mention camp diseases in his

Commentaries?" General de Peyster replied. "Yet do you suppose his soldiers were free from them? I will demonstrate to your satisfaction that the Romans had a medical department."

Military common-sense and a practical knowledge of the exigencies of military operations had led General de Peyster instantly to his induction. He ransacked ancient authorities. The results, published in several articles in the *Army and Navy Journal*, treat of the medical and surgical equipments of the ancient Romans and demonstrate that they possessed a much better medical service than did the armies of mediæval Europe, and one superior to that of all modern armies until within one hundred and fifty years of the date of these articles.

At the very inception of the war of 1866 between Prussia and Austria, General de Peyster not merely foretold its results, but, weeks before the event, indicated the place where the final battle was fought. In a remarkable article in the *Army and Navy Journal* of 4 May, 1867, he gave an accurate forecast of the war of 1870, mapping out the Prusso-French campaign, with its scenes and results.

In the winter of 1870-71, asked by a journalist to express an opinion as to the conduct of the Franco-German war, he replied by suggesting the strategy which Von Moltke soon after employed. In a letter written the day before the news of the battle of Sedan had reached America, he predicted the result, as already he had previously done in an article printed in the *New York Evening Mail*. The following letter to General de Peyster from Colonel J. M. Bundy, editor of the *Mail*, dated 13 December, 1872, refers to this prediction.

"I am sorry you have lost my letter, congratulating you on your wonderfully accurate prediction of the French disaster at Sedan—written (my letter, and not your prediction) just after the event. I recollect both the letter and the cause of it—because, in an article which you wrote for the *Mail*, you foretold, with considerable detail, the exact result of Sedan. I never knew

a great event so accurately foreshadowed. It was because, with the Germans, war was an exact science. You penetrated their game and the French weakness so well that you were safe in your prophecy. It was not luck or guess work on your part."

"As to the Russo-Turkish war," writes General de Peyster in a letter to Major-General Humphreys, 7 August, 1877, "my predictions are coming out as correctly as they have in regard to every war which has occurred since I began to study military matters, showing, as Napoleon said, war is not an uncertain science, in everything to which science will apply. Brute strength will conquer skill, even in boxing, whenever weight, force, and training are opposed to inferior physical power, however skilled. War is like whist; luck rules the game; but give a skilled player an ordinary 'hand,' and he will beat the usual run, with far better cards.

"Chess is the only game of pure skill. It has been used as the best simile of war, but it is a very unjust one. In chess the board is always the same, the pieces the same, and the start is equal; whereas in war, human passions come in, the ground is constantly changing; the stomach, the seasons, and the finances, are indispensable considerations. The forces are never equal, and the starting point and the start are always incalculably advantageous, for one side or the other.

"In fact, it must be so, for if proverbs are the wisdom of nations, there is one proverb the same in all languages. It is, 'The first blow is half the battle.'"

As our Civil War progressed it became perfectly clear to General de Peyster that the old Napoleonic conception of infantry attacks in columns of brigades was doomed to pass away with the use of the better arms and field works of modern warfare. In articles which appeared in the *Army and Navy Journal* of 1865-66, he maintained that the infantry fighting of the future would be by means of single lines of men, following one another at some distance—a succession of skirmish lines. These ideas were adopted by the armies of the civilized world.

General de Peyster's articles on the subject, referred to in the *Edinburgh Review* of January, 1866, were translated and printed in Correord's "Journal des Sciences Militaires," published in Paris. A French officer formulated them into a system, in succeeding years the theory was improved, and it has since been widely employed on exercise fields and in battle.

In the judgment of the writer the most striking illustration of General de Peyster's correct grasp of military situations is found in his general outline, in 1861, of the strategy which the North ought to employ against the South. His ideas were roughly thrown together in reply to a letter from his cousin, General Kearny, written from Episcopal Seminary, near Alexandria, Virginia, 8 December, 1861.

"I am disappointed that the sad illness of your brother-in-law called you home," Kearny wrote. "I know you well. You have certain great talents. I point you out a path of distinction, viz.:

"Come and visit all points; collect all information of ourselves, and as to probable points of occupation by the other side (for we have no news of the enemy)—and in ten days' time make out from it a plan of campaign. Your plan may not be the best, but I think your talent in discovering information, and collecting, is so great that it will be superior to anyone else's.

"We have no strong men among our Generals, from their want of force of mind in collating relative bearing of information.

"Your plan would at least enable the Government to submit it to some foreign French General. I am in favor of sending for one of them, because I find that General McClellan is too distrustful of his forces (since Baker's affair) to adapt the true key-point in strategy."

"I have suggested plans upon plans to different officers," wrote General de Peyster in reply, "pointed out strategic key-points, and what has been the invariable answer? That while, strategically, I am right, the quality of our troops prevents the execution of real



JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER

From a Photograph taken in December, 1896

military operations. That is, not the quality, but the estimate made by the generals of the quality. I came to the conclusion that you do in your letter to me, that he to whom you allude* has no faith in the trustworthiness of his troops. But will they become better by inaction? Force is acquired by movement. * * *

“Again, what is the use of plans when every third man is lukewarm or a traitor, every second, a babbler? A plan, to succeed, must be secret. If a movement is to be made, and the enemy learn it before we are ready to execute it, the fact that we have a fixed plan is rather detrimental, because the enemy can counteract it, knowing it to be fixed. * * *

“I do not think we can operate in safety from in front of Washington now unless our forces are as three to one. Masters of the sea, we can leave sufficient troops to defend the line of the Potomac, and strike terrific blows in other quarters—if we can retain a large Confederate army in face of our lines at Washington, disquieting them continually, so that they cannot afford to weaken their army of observation, fixing their attention, while we disengage large army corps for movements elsewhere. We are placing the Rebels in front of Washington in the same position that the Russians occupied, relatively to the Allies, at Sebastopol. Virginia will soon be exhausted. The winter and want will do the work of the sword. But then we must shelter our troops, and render our lines unattackable. This can be easily done.

“I think our field works—in many cases, very unscientific as to location—command a mutual cover. A system like Roguier’s lines are better than isolated forts, unless these forts can command everything within common range and mutually protect each other by cross fires, as do squares disposed checkwise.

“If we can keep the enemy’s attention fixed upon Washington, which a proportionate force will effect, all we have to do is to open the Potomac, and we can supply

*McClellan.

our troops so much more cheaply than the Rebels can maintain theirs that to nourish a very large army there will exhaust the Confederate States. Meanwhile, we must not be idle. Possessed of ample marine transport, the whole South is open to us. From Bull's Bay, they tell me (that is, persons conversant with the coast), Charleston is open to an army of twenty or thirty thousand men. From Albemarle Sound, with vessels of light draft of water, an army can land, take, or at least destroy Norfolk, and move on Richmond, carrying all the enemy's works in the rear. If the Rebels withdraw troops from before Washington to defend the menaced points, they lay themselves open to an attack from Washington.

"To me our movements hitherto have seemed a chain of misapprehensions of the principles of war. Two months ago a regiment could have occupied Mathias Point, and, in a field work, have maintained themselves, with the assistance of our gunboats, and have kept open the Potomac. We have shown ourselves throughout blind to the advantages of key-points.

"Last spring I demonstrated the necessity of a direct railroad communication with the heart of Pennsylvania, which would have united Washington with a network of railroads conducting our supplies from their sources. One-half the troops scattered in Maryland would have sufficed to hold Baltimore—that is, one-half the troops scattered along a circuitous route. A flying corps would have protected the new route, and the diminished expense of bringing forward supplies would have gone a great way toward defraying the expense of the road. The very money we have wasted on useless works, constructed in violation of strategy, or could have economized from expenditures inexcusable at this crisis, would have built that road.

"I consider the Baker affair the worst which has occurred. It was conceived, as I read, unsoldierly, and executed in violation of every military rule. * * * If I were in command of Banks', or any so-situated column,

I should insist that all orders should be sent in cipher, and confined to the General-in-Chief and myself.

“After Bull Run politics was to have nothing to do with our appointments. Our actions were a falsehood to that promise. We should have waited to try our officers before we made them generals, and now we have over a hundred brigadier-generals, the greater part, however able they may show themselves, altogether untried. Have we not applauded blunders, miscarriages and defeats? Would Napoleon, Frederick or Gustavus have left men in prominent commands who, however brave, had shown want of ability?

“Nature has pointed out the best plan. Providence has blessed us with the means of carrying it out. The sea is the element of our strength. When Scipio intended to conquer Hannibal, he struck his blow at the gate of Carthage. * * * How is it England, with its infernally bad generals, has so often come out successful? It was the command of the sea! It afforded the opportunities of striking unexpected blows; it multiplied her communications in case of success. With England the fountain head of supply, the lines of supply and reënforcement, were always open.

“These are my views, as hastily thrown together as the pen will run.”

The strategy here suggested is an application of the anaconda system. During the war General de Peyster defended this plan at a time when, to the superficial view of others, deceived and discouraged by temporary reverses, it seemed a hopeless failure. In his “Practical Strategy,” published in 1863, he says:

“The anaconda system, once so vaunted, now as much reviled, which often succeeds against a rebellion, particularly when that rebellion has elements of discord within itself, is nothing more than one application of practical—efficiently operative—strategy. Nevertheless, to succeed, its force must be exerted just as the monster snake applies its powers. * * * At first, everyone was in favor of what was termed the anaconda strategy; now,

everybody is against it. * * * But if the anaconda system did not succeed, even apparently, why did it fail? Because those who undertook to apply it did not study and imitate the action of the anaconda itself.

“The colossal reptile does not simply encircle its prey with an inert, flacid coil, and bring its strength to bear in spasmodic, dislocated efforts, but as soon as the object of its attack is begirt with its tremendous contractile folds, it exerts that force with terrible, simultaneous, persistent intensity, and keeps up the pressure, equally and everywhere, until all the power of resistance is extinct, and its prey is crushed into an inert mass, fitted to be swallowed up, to nourish and to recuperate, for new efforts, the very power which destroyed it.

“So should our anaconda of armies and fleets have acted, and so should the North still continue to act, until the South is crushed into a submission which can not present any form or consistence to prevent the North from molding its future according to its will and pleasure, and thus derive, from its transformed condition, adequate resources to meet new enemies at home or abroad.

“In one respect, however, our anaconda system, let quid-nuncs argue what they will, did not fail, for what could have been accomplished had not the blockading squadrons completed and maintained its coil?”

Masked behind many blunders and vacillating purposes, the grand strategy which General de Peyster advocated was that which actually gave to the North its victory in arms. A brief review will make this clear.

Throughout 1861 we keep the flower of the Confederate soldiery, the Army of Virginia, manœuvring about Washington. It scores one fruitless victory—Bull Run. This triumph really injures the Confederate morale. Yielding no strategic advantage, it deludes with the false hope of an easy conquest. To the North the defeat comes as a blessing in disguise. While it shocks and humiliates our pride, it opens our eyes, hardens our resolution, prepares us for the mighty sacrifice of men and treasure necessary to save the Union.

In holding the Army of Virginia near Washington, at the cost of Bull Run, what are we enabled to accomplish elsewhere? Believing Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri will secede, the South has planned to seize the Ohio river and all territory south of it. Our first campaigns shatter this hope.

The Union troops, thrown into Maryland, strangling its movement toward secession, tear this fair State from the Confederacy. Blair, Lyon and Pope do as much for Missouri. Kentucky, too, we save from secession, militarily occupying its northern parts. Still more, West Virginia, seceding from secession, becomes a Union State, and by victorious blows McClellan and Rosecrans hurl the Confederates over its borders. On the sea, our extemporized navy, growing like a mushroom, more and more vigorously enforces a blockade of the Southern coast.

At the end of 1861 the anaconda of our Northern armies constricts the Confederacy in a tight fold. The South no longer trades with the manufacturing East and the agricultural West. She cannot send her cotton to Europe and draw supplies thence. Even the border States, with their fertile fields, are wrested from her. She groans. Her own armies, like locusts, devour her fatness.

The year 1862 sees our coil drawn tighter. The police-marine, along the entire seaboard, becomes so effective as to confine blockade-running to the ports of Charleston and Wilmington. Fort Macon, Beaufort, Roanoke Island, Elizabeth City, New Berne, fall into our hands—practically all the coast of North Carolina. We take Tybee Island and Fort Pulaski, commanding the entrance to Savannah. Still more important, we seize New Orleans, 25 April. Three days later its forts, Jackson and St. Philip's, surrender.

Meanwhile, Thomas and Garfield drive the Confederates from Central and Eastern Kentucky, Grant captures Forts Henry and Donelson, Pope takes New Madrid and Island Number Ten. Columbus, Bowling Green, and Nashville, made untenable, are evacuated by the enemy.

Our compressing cordon is advanced from Central Kentucky to Southern Tennessee.

A little later we win the battle of Shiloh, force the evacuation of Corinth and Fort Pillow, and capture Memphis. The Mississippi, already ours below Vicksburg, we now seize in its entire length from Vicksburg north. Our constricting coil passes through Northern Mississippi.

Considering that our success in holding the best fighting blood of the South near Washington is what leaves us free thus to operate elsewhere, what price do we pay for these immense strategic gains? The failure of McClellan's Peninsular campaign, the failure of Pope's campaign, and Fredericksburg!

The South, at the time, claims these as glorious victories, offsetting our successes; but they are fruitless triumphs. They yield the Confederacy no strategic advantage. In McClellan's and Pope's campaigns we are the aggressors. Invading Southern territory, we are simply rebuffed—pushed back across our borders, with our armies intact, after having inflicted losses more irreparable to the South than ours are to us.

Indeed, Lee loses six thousand men to our five thousand at Fair Oaks, and twenty thousand to our sixteen thousand in the Seven Days' fight. Nor is there any reason for our retreat, apart from the incapacity of McClellan, the timidity of the Administration, and the stupidity and pig-headedness of Halleck. Petersburg and Richmond should have been taken.

In Pope's campaign our losses are heavier—fourteen thousand to Lee's nine thousand. Yet, in proportion to her resources and population, the balance is heavily against the South. A score of such victories must prove fatal, the Southern armies perishing in their triumphs.

Yet even such sacrifices—with the blundering assault of Marye's Heights, Fredericksburg—might have been avoided, and Lee still held in Virginia, had General de Peyster's Fabian policy been more closely followed. He proposed to "shelter our troops," to "render our lines

unattackable," to fight in the open when we had "three to one," while yet, by demonstrations, "disquieting them continually, so that they cannot afford to weaken their army of observation."

If not with such skilful strategy as General de Peyster proposed, yet with bloody battles and stupid manœuvres we keep Lee in Virginia; and de Peyster's prophecy—"Virginia will soon be exhausted: the winter and want will do the work of the sword"—is soon fulfilled.

Early in 1862, in fact, the South reveals symptoms of deep distress under the awful strain of our enfolding strategy. Her thinning ranks are filled by conscription, 16 April. Her finances are in straits, her credit low, her paper currency fallen to three dollars for one in gold. Her food-producing regions are restricted, her commerce with the outside world cut off. Her ill-clothed armies are hungry, her people in want.

The Confederacy had proclaimed a policy of strict defence. "All we ask," said Jefferson Davis, "is to be let alone." But in her distress she seeks to burst our bands asunder and raid our fertile territory. Lee pushes our armies out of Virginia, but when he, in turn, becomes invader, we strike him—South Mountain and Antietam—and thrust his famished columns back to glean from their own lean fields a bare subsistence.

Bragg by a similar raid in Tennessee and Kentucky seeks to loosen our coil at the West. He lasts but a little longer than Lee. Checked at Perryville, 8 October, he retreats through Cumberland Gap. Returning later to besiege Nashville, he receives a staggering blow at Stone River, 31 December, and reels back. So, too, the attempt of Price and Van Dorn, to break our hold on Northern Mississippi, Rosecrans foils at Iuka and Corinth, 19 September and 3 and 4 October.

The end of 1862 sees a fearful constriction of the panting South by the Northern anaconda. Each frantic struggle to break our hold but tightens the coil about the writhing victim.

With the fall of Vicksburg, in 1863, we completely

encircle the more important Confederate States. The others, Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana, are isolated. This is the most vital blow of the war. We overrun the State of Mississippi—our coil cuts deeper and deeper.

Another master-stroke is the capture of Chattanooga, the gateway to Atlanta. Its importance will be seen the following year, when through it we pierce to the heart of the South in our final strangle hold. The Navy of 1863 hermetically seals every Southern port on the Atlantic, with the single exception of Wilmington.

Viewing our operations against Lee's army as the price of these successes, we have Chancellorsville and Gettysburg in the account for 1863. Chancellorsville is considered a southern victory. We lose seventeen thousand men; Lee thirteen thousand, including Stonewall Jackson. But Lee can find none to fill the places left vacant by the fall of his great lieutenant and ragged, half-fed heroes. Famished and desperate he again invades the North, to be rolled back at Gettysburg. Here twenty-two thousand five hundred brave men are swept from his fading ranks. Our loss is five hundred more.

At the close of 1863 the South, helpless, weak, and gasping, lies crushed and hopeless under our fierce pressure. We have hurled her from Tennessee, cut off three of her States, and from both banks of the Mississippi are compressing the severed fragments. The currency of the South has fallen five to one; she is lean and gaunt through famine; both food and men are failing her. Her armies, having devoured her vitals, are gnawing at their own.

In 1864 our shortened coil takes a new purchase upon its victim, never to be relaxed until the Confederacy is dead. Sherman invades the South, pushing Johnston before him, from Chattanooga to Atlanta. Lee, pressed back by Grant, is shut up in Petersburg and Richmond.

Hood, superseding Johnston, but not for the better, makes a last desperate attempt to loosen the folds we have thrown round him. Repulsed in his attacks on Sherman, he leads forty-four thousand famished

veterans into Tennessee. He reaches Nashville and his army, shivered into ungatherable fragments by the double blow of Thomas, ceases to exist.

Grant relentlessly holding Lee, Sherman marches from Atlanta to the sea, wheels, and marches North. The coil narrows, Grant and Sherman drawing it together, with Lee and Johnston entangled in the folds. It grows tighter and tighter, through the winter and spring of 1864-65, strangling the last convulsive shudders of the dying South. Lee surrenders, 9 April; Johnston, seventeen days later. The Confederacy is no more!

The grand strategy suggested by General de Peyster was the mighty instrument placed by God in the hand of the North. Although, amid the din and confusion of battle, we did not at first perceive its effectiveness, an overruling Providence, shaping all, and using even our very blunders, Himself unerringly directed the weapon He had given.

BOOK V
BENEFLECTIONS

CHAPTER XLVI

THE LEAKE AND WATTS ORPHAN HOUSE

General de Peyster gave away several million dollars, devoted to the building or endowment of hospitals, homes, schools, churches, libraries, and the erection of monuments of historic and artistic interest. His library of fifty thousand volumes, one of the largest in the possession of a private individual, was despoiled by gifts to colleges, scientific or historical institutions, and public libraries. Many art treasures and heirlooms, inherited or collected by him, were presented to public museums.

His grandfather, Hon. John Watts, founded the Leake and Watts Orphan House, relinquishing for that purpose a large inheritance. Robert Leake came to this country from England in the eighteenth century. He was in 1754 a commissary of stores connected with the disastrous expedition under General Braddock. Subsequently settling in New York, he acted as Commissary-General for the Colonies until his death. He acquired great wealth, which eventually passed into the possession of his only surviving son, John George Leake.

A life-long friendship existed between John George Leake and John Watts. They were students together in the law office of Judge James Duane, one of the most distinguished of American jurists. In after years the families were allied by the marriage of Robert William Leake, brother of John George, to Margaret, sister of John Watts. Robert William Leake died a few years after his marriage, leaving a son, John George, who died at the age of eight years.

The death of this child was a great blow to John George Leake, who had intended to make him his heir. Toward the latter part of his life he made every endeavor to discover relatives in England or Scotland, but without

success. By his will, therefore, he left his entire fortune to Robert Watts, second son of John Watts, on condition that the legatee should thenceforward bear the name of Leake. Should he decline to change his name, the entire fortune was to be used for the establishment of a home for orphan children. John George Leake died, 2 June, 1827, at his residence, 32 Park Row, opposite the City Hall Park. The settlement of his estate was long delayed by the appearance of foreign claimants, all of whom, however, were discredited.

John Watts was opposed to his son's acceptance of the terms of the will, and Robert refrained from speaking of the matter. He, however, prepared an application to the Legislature, asking for authority to take the name of Leake. Its presentation was delayed until the cessation of litigation, and soon after the final decision in his favor, Robert Watts died of congestion of the lungs, following a severe cold contracted during a game of ball. He left no will and died unmarried, his father becoming his heir.

The final decision of the courts had established the will as a transfer of personal property only, and the real estate escheated to the State. Upon the death of his son, John Watts, then more than eighty years of age, applied to the Legislature for authority to carry out the terms of the will in regard to the foundation of a home for orphans, relinquishing all claim to the estate. Notwithstanding his example, the State refused to relinquish its rights and never has given any aid to the charity.

On 7 March, 1831, an act was passed for the incorporation of the "Leake and Watts Orphan House in the City of New York." On 22 March, 1831, was held the first meeting of the Board of Trustees, consisting of Walter Browne, Mayor of New York; Richard Ricker, Recorder; Rev. William Berrian, D.D., rector of Trinity Church; Nehemiah Rogers and Charles McEvers, wardens of Trinity; Rev. Gerardus A. Kuypers, minister of the Dutch Church in New York, and Rev. William Phillips, minister of the Presbyterian Church.

In 1835, a year before the death of John Watts, twenty acres of land were purchased between One Hundred and Tenth and One Hundred and Thirteenth streets and what is now Morningside Avenue and Broadway, in the district of New York, formerly known as Bloomingdale. Upon the picturesque cliff whose slopes now form the beautiful Morningside Park was laid the cornerstone, 28 April, 1838, of the Leake and Watts Orphan House. The dedicatory address was made by Rev. John Knox, of the Dutch Reformed Church. He said, in part:

“Among the renowned heathen of antiquity were found the enduring monuments of power and pride and oppression, of selfishness and of ambition; but of mercy to the miserable, not one. And, after the lapse of so many centuries, wherever the influence of the Gospel of Christ is unfelt, no salt has been cast into the bitter fountains of the heart. Its sweet sympathies are all dried up. The poor and the wretched are trodden in the dust; infanticide prevails; the aged and helpless are put out of the way, or left miserably to perish; man is brutalized. While in lands truly Christian, efforts, individual and combined, in every form, are employed to prevent, to mitigate, and to remove human wretchedness.

“With the growth of the city, the wants of the destitute have multiplied; and now, through the liberal, wisely directed munificence of an opulent citizen, this blessed enterprise is called into being, and the names of John G. Leake and John Watts will be held in perpetual remembrance as distinguished benefactors of mankind. This endowment comes, not by force of law, or by any other human constraint, but by a moral impulse of mightier energy than these.”

The institution was opened for the reception of orphans 15 November, 1843. Since its inception, it has cared for some two thousand children. The original site, in what was once the quaint old village of Bloomingdale,—on the high land overlooking the beautiful valley of the Harlem River, the old town of Harlem, the Sound, and the distant shores of Long Island,—was in the most

healthful part of Manhattan Island. In 1891 the Orphan House was removed to Yonkers. The new grounds comprise thirty acres in the cities of New York and Yonkers, the buildings being in the latter, although the land is partly within the City of New York. The beautiful grounds, adjacent to those of Mount St. Vincent Academy, extend to the Hudson River. The New York Tribune, 23 February, 1890, described the new building just before its completion.

"The home will be about two hundred and fifty feet by one hundred feet, and four stories in height. The basement and first floor will be of Potsdam stone, the two floors above of brick, and the roof of terra-cotta. The trimmings will also be of Potsdam stone. In the middle will be a large ornamental square tower, and the ends will be built L-shaped. There will be four staircases and an octagonal tower, which will be used for a fire-escape. Although inside the building, the latter will be built entirely separate from it, so that by careful training the children could be removed in case of fire without panic.

"The main hall will be an architectural gem. The columns which will support the stairway will be of Corinthian design, and, with the arches, will be built of yellow limestone. The dining-room, which will be in the rear, overlooking the river, will be built out from the main building, and will measure sixty-two by thirty-four feet. It will have a fine semi-circular window and will be a cheerful room. On the same floor is the main classroom, which is one hundred by thirty feet. The basement will be used for kitchens, washrooms, and lavatories; the ground floor for reception, teachers' and classrooms, and dining-hall, and the two upper floors for dormitories and classrooms."

General de Peyster followed in the footsteps of his honored grandfather in his gifts to the Orphan House. In the main entrance hall and reception room are many beautiful paintings, bronzes, and pieces of statuary, transferred from his city and country homes. They

include portraits of the founders, John Watts and John George Leake, marble and bronze busts of General de Peyster, a painting of the Holy Family by Rubens, three beautiful pieces of marble statuary, two very old and valuable watercolors, and an organ made by the George Astor Company, the last three being heirlooms inherited by General de Peyster from his grandfather. Near the entrance to the grounds is a beautiful bronze statue of Hon. John Watts, also presented by his grandson.

"The Trustees of the Leake and Watts Orphan House at their stated meeting yesterday directed me to write to you and thank you on their behalf for your valuable gifts of three pictures and a marble statue to the Institution at Yonkers," wrote Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix, President of the Board of Trustees, to General de Peyster, 16 May, 1900. "These works of art are highly appreciated and we are sensible of your kindness in making us their possessors." Other donations were acknowledged 26 February, 1896, by Mr. King, Clerk, pro tem., of the Board of Trustees.

"At a meeting of the Trustees of the Leake & Watts' Orphan House," he wrote, "held at the residence of the Rev. Dr. Dix, 27 West 25th Street, your two letters bearing date January 30th and February 5th were read and the bust of your respected father, late Frederick de Peyster, who for more than sixty years was Clerk of the Board of Trustees, was accepted with the thanks of the Board, and it will be duly placed on a proper pedestal in a conspicuous and honorable place, within the building of the Institution.

"In regard to the portrait of little Johnny Leake, they also will accept the same, and I am instructed to send you their thanks for it; it will be hung in the Trustees' room and a proper brass plate, duly engraved, stating that you are the donor, * * * affixed to it. The Board appreciate your kindness in giving them a picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence, as well as of your relative. * * *

"We are at work trying to increase the classes of manual training at the Institution, the better to fit the

orphans for their work hereafter, and if you would come down to the Institution I would be very glad to meet you there some day and show you what has been accomplished, and how much more might be done if we could afford to erect a few more buildings, which are sadly needed."

This appeal for aid did not fall on deaf ears. General de Peyster gave the Orphan House a new building, a large Annex, erected in memory of his mother and grandmother. A simple tablet bears the following inscription:

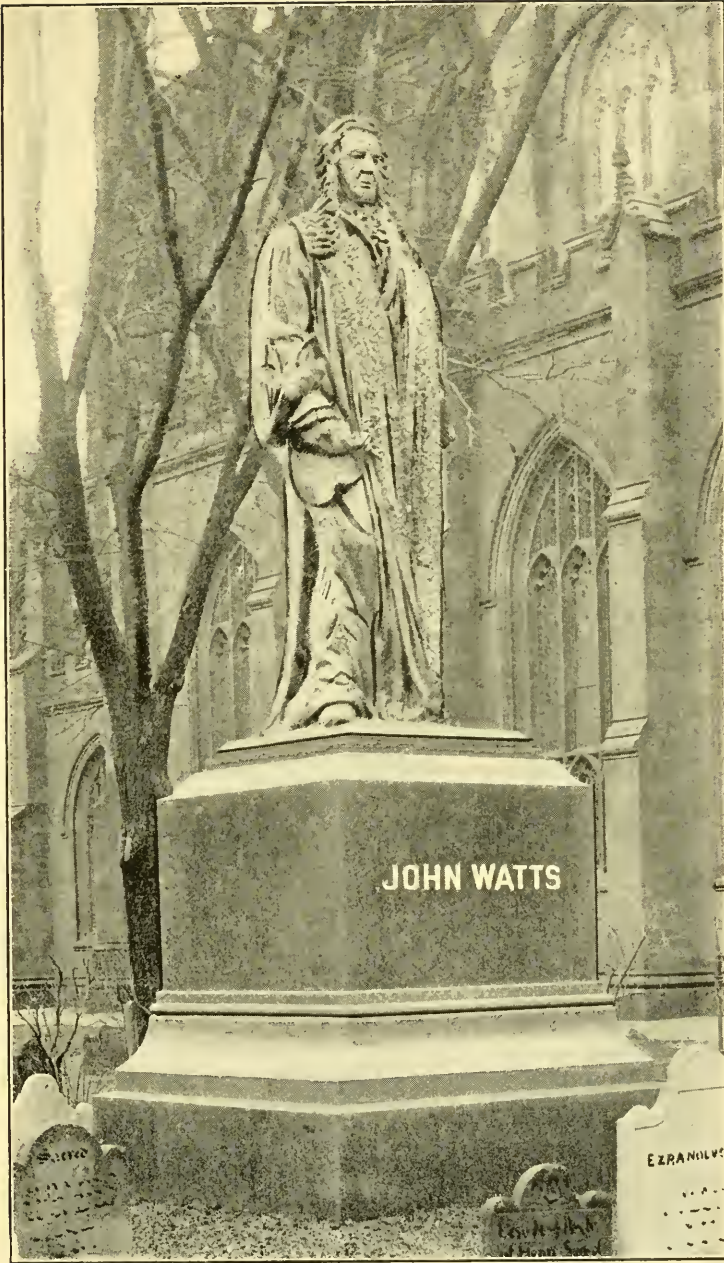
This Annex to the
Leake and Watts Orphan House,
Originally Founded and Endowed by
JOHN WATTS,
was Erected as a Memorial of his Youngest Child,
My Mother,
Justina Mary,
Born 26th October, 1801; Died 28th July, 1821,
Wife of Frederic de Peyster,
for 50 years Clerk of the Board of Trustees, L. & W. O. H.,
and of her Mother,
Jane de Lancey Watts,
Born 5th September, 1756; Died 2nd March, 1809.

"I call to Remembrance the Unfeigned Faith
which Dwelt first in thy Grandmother, Lois,
[Famous Holiness], and thy Mother, Eunice
[Happy Victory]." (2 Timothy, I., 5.)

by

John Watts de Peyster.

The De Peyster Annex is admirably equipped for the instruction of the children in many useful branches, including sewing, cooking, manual training and carpentry, and is provided with playrooms and a gymnasium. The work in carpentry is remarkably well done, entire rooms inside the building, and pagodas and windmills outside, having been constructed by the boys. The girls are trained in household work. A uniformed band has been inaugurated, and the children greatly enjoy its music. Out-of-door work is encouraged, each child being



BRONZE STATUE OF JOHN WATTS, JUNIOR, IN TRINITY CHURCHYARD, NEW YORK
John Watts de Peyster, donor; George E. Bissell, sculptor

given a garden plot where vegetables and fruits are raised during the summer.

General de Peyster also gave the Orphan House a number of valuable lots in the City of New York near Morningside Park. The following resolutions were passed at a meeting of the Board of Trustees in acceptance of the gift:

"I, Charles L. Jones, Clerk of the Leake and Watts Orphan House, do hereby certify that the following is a copy of the resolutions passed at a Special Meeting of the Trustees of the Leake & Watts Orphan House, held February 15th, 1901.

"RESOLVED, That the Trustees of the Leake & Watts Orphan House have received with much gratification the communication of General John Watts de Peyster, dated February 7th, 1901, in which he proposes to convey to this Institution real estate valued at \$200,000, as a gift.

"RESOLVED, That the Trustees of the Leake & Watts accept either of the two propositions contained in the above-mentioned communication and will comply with the conditions therein attached to the proposed gift; but that the first proposition of the two, offering to convey to the Leake & Watts Orphan House a certain plot of ground situated on Columbus Avenue, New York City, would, in their judgment, be the more advantageous to this Institution.

"RESOLVED, That whenever the above-mentioned property shall be sold the proceeds of such sale shall be set aside to constitute a special fund known as the John Watts de Peyster Fund. The annual income of the same to be used solely for the support and maintenance of the inmates of the Orphan House.

"RESOLVED, That the Trustees are glad to recognize the continued interest of General de Peyster in the Orphan House which was founded by his Grandfather and of which he has already been a liberal benefactor.

"RESOLVED, That the Rev. Dr. Coe be requested to communicate to General de Peyster this action of the Board."

When over eighty years of age General de Peyster deeded to the Leake and Watts Orphan House his home of "Rose Hill." The deed describes the estate as "All that landed property, domain or country seat, situated on the left bank of the Hudson River in the township of Red Hook, Dutchess County, N. Y., known as 'Rose Hill,' (so named after original spacious and elegant home and domain of the Watts, ancestors of the party of the first part, once near and afterward in the city of Edinburgh, Scotland, since destroyed) purchased from Eugene A. Livingston and subsequently added to by later purchases, the whole remainder thereof being now conveyed." General de Peyster reserved to himself the occupancy of the estate during his lifetime. In his letter to the Board of Trustees he stated that he wished the proceeds of the sale of "Rose Hill" to be used solely for the maintenance of the children, but in case the management should so desire, it might be used as an additional Home. By his will General de Peyster made another magnificent gift to the Orphan House—an endowment fund of two hundred thousand dollars.

CHAPTER XLVII

HOSPITALS AND SCHOOLS

A famous physician of colonial times pronounced the mountainous country of Dutchess County, New York, the most healthful in the Province. In this beautiful section are situated the charitable foundations given by General de Peyster to the Order of the Brothers of Nazareth, a community of laymen of the Episcopal Church established in 1886. The Order originally carried on its work in New York City where, in an old mansion in Harlem, it conducted All Saints' Convalescent Home, under the direction of Brother Gilbert, the Superior.

General de Peyster gave to the community "Priory Farm," a tract of land on Prospect Hill, near Union Vale, in the northwestern part of Dutchess County. The farm, comprising about three hundred acres, had been in General de Peyster's family for seven generations. Here he erected a hospital for the treatment of tuberculosis, the first of its kind in the United States, known as All Saints' Home for Consumptives.

The founding of this hospital was brought about through the interest of General de Peyster in a poor German lad, John Gram, who had been employed as an elevator boy in a building which the General frequently visited. The boy's bright smile and careful performance of his duties had attracted the General's attention. Missing him from his accustomed place, he found that the lad had contracted a severe cold in the draughts of the elevator shafts, which had settled on his lungs and induced consumption,—a disease which had destroyed many of the General's relatives.

General de Peyster, ascertaining the boy's whereabouts, discovered that he had no home, and that the disease had made such progress that he was unable to work. The

General applied to hospital after hospital, but found that not one in the great city of New York would admit the boy unless he was confined to his bed. He was finally placed in the care of Brother Gilbert, who watched over him until his death. Having discovered that, with all the care given to the poor and suffering, there was no place for such a case, General de Peyster gave the hospital where so many have found rest and consolation in their last days. Over the fireplace of one of the main rooms was placed a marble tablet with the inscription: "This tablet is placed by General de Peyster in remembrance of the poor waif, John Gram, whose closing days, cared for by Brother Gilbert, Superior O. B. N., inspired the idea of this eleemosynary foundation."

The hospital consisted of two departments, a Home for Consumptives and a Home for Convalescents. Those suffering from consumption or any other lingering disease, were received. Convalescents, discharged from city hospitals, but still too weak to work, were helped back to health. General de Peyster determined not merely to provide for those in bodily affliction, but, as they were restored to health, to aid them still further in the battle of life. For this purpose, to the buildings at Priory Farm he added St. Paul's Training School for Boys, dedicated 23 June, 1894.

The school building, constructed of native stone, is thoroughly equipped with steam heat, well lighted, and furnished. It cost twenty-three thousand dollars. It has two large wings and accommodates forty boys. Over the mantel in the entrance hall is a memorial tablet of white marble with the inscription:

"This building, St. Paul's Training School for Boys, was erected here on Prospect Farm, or Hill, which had been in his Family for seven generations, by John Watts de Peyster, as a Memorial of his Father, Frederic de Peyster, and of his maternal Grandfather, John Watts, Founder and Endower of the Leake and Watts Orphan House, in New York. M. O'Connor, Hudson, Architect."

"In the Nazareth Chronicle for March we gave a

detailed description of our new building," said that paper in its issue of July, 1894. "Since that time it has been furnished carefully and generously throughout by the liberality of Gen. de Peyster. The reception hall, intended for guests and friends of the boys, and those in charge of the school, is supplied with some fine pieces of Russian furniture, besides well upholstered chairs and a sofa. Several very valuable bronzes of the de Peyster family have also been placed in this room. The beautifully polished hard-wood floors are partly hidden by elegant rugs; costly portieres hang between the reception hall and the corridor leading to the dining room, the school room, and class rooms.

"The dining room has three long elm wood tables, finished with much care, and the fire-place contains heavy wrought iron andirons. The school room is fitted up with the most modern school furniture, each boy having a separate desk. The class rooms are simply furnished, but in harmony with the other parts of the building. One class room has been arranged as an oratory, where the boys gather for their night and morning prayers. It is hoped that the day is not far distant when a commodious chapel will be built, not only to serve for the boys, but also for all the work on Priory Farm, and for our friends and neighbors living about us.

"A small but convenient dining-room has been arranged for those having charge of the boys, and for guests. Here too has been placed a handsome rug and solid antique furniture. Ascending the beautiful staircase, which is softly lighted by beautiful art-glass windows on each landing, we come to the second floor. The long corridor, extending the whole length of the building, is partly covered with a soft red carpet, which adds greatly to the effectiveness of it, and at convenient distances there are beautiful curled-maple hall chairs.

"On either side of the corridors are the sleeping apartments. Small dormitories or rooms have been arranged for the boys, so that as much as possible the idea of home life may be inculcated. Each boy has his

own distinct bed, and here too is manifested the unstinted generosity of our benefactor. The name of the bed is *Luxury*, and it does not, with its splendid wire springs, fine mattress, pillows and blankets, fall short of its name. We venture to say that but few of the boys now under our care were ever so comfortably housed before.

"The criticism of kind friends who have gone over the building has been that, if anything is the trouble, what has been given us is too good. Our great desire is that by surrounding our boys with all that is good and beautiful we may wean their hearts from the evil by which many of them have been surrounded, and that the beautiful in art and nature will be object lessons, encouraging them to seek after higher and better things."

General de Peyster was a frequent visitor at Priory Farm and, from time to time, made it the recipient of additional gifts. Soon after the completion of the Training School he presented it with a large American Flag, with characteristic patriotism, desiring to inculcate a love of country in the minds of the boys.

One of the most beautiful of General de Peyster's charities is the Watts de Peyster Hospital and Home for Invalid Children, at Verbank, New York, built upon land donated for the work of the Methodist Episcopal Deaconess Society. It is situated on Prospect Hills, one thousand two hundred feet above sea-level, about ninety miles from New York City and three and a half miles from the Verbank station. Known as "The Pines," the breath of the pine woods, upon which the front windows of the building look, brings health to the little ones who have found shelter here.

The children are rescued from the slums of New York, often from the most brutal surroundings. They are the "passed by" children of the poor, many of them with the seeds of consumption, their racking coughs debaring them from the ministrations of many charities, while yet they are not ill enough to enter a hospital.

Some of the cases of cruelty which have come to the notice of the deaconesses are almost incredible. "A child

dragged sick and fainting from bed to go for beer, a child bitten deeply and repeatedly by its own mother, a child shot at by its step-father, children kicked and beaten and tortured with hot irons till they are scarred for life—these are some of the things the deaconesses know about. The law? Of course they invoke its aid. The Gerry and Home Finding Societies are often sought unto. But after a child has been rescued, an ailing child, what then? Is there not an urgent need for a Home for Invalid Children?***

This need General de Peyster met. The Home, built of stone and brick, was erected at a cost of forty thousand dollars. On the southern side is an enclosed sun-porch, one hundred and fifty feet long, which extends the entire length of the building. A tablet contains the following inscription:

“Erected by Gen. John Watts de Peyster, as a Memorial of Three Exemplary Women; His Grandmother, Jane de Lancey, wife of Hon. John Watts; His Aunt, Elizabeth Watts, married Henry Leight; His Mother, Mary Justina Watts, married Frederic de Peyster.”

From April, 1904, to the spring of 1905, eighty children were cared for in the Home. If a child is old enough, and its health is sufficiently restored, it is taught simple sewing and basket-making. A primary school and a kindergarten have been established. General de Peyster also gave the Society the land known as the Burns Farm. The following resolution of thanks, signed by Z. S. Meyer, Secretary, was tendered to General de Peyster by the Society after being unanimously adopted at its meeting of 24 July, 1905.

“RESOLVED: That the very hearty thanks of the Methodist Episcopal Deaconess Society are due, and are hereby tendered, to our generous friend and patron, General John Watts de Peyster, for the gift to the Watts de Peyster Hospital of nearly one hundred acres of land known as the Burns Farm, adjoining the property

*From the Record of Christian Work.

before donated by him and constituting the Watts de Peyster Hospital and Invalid Children's Home, near Verbank, N. Y. We fully recognize the fact that the institution from the very first has been made possible only by the generous interest and gifts of General de Peyster. We wish to express not only our gratitude, but also our earnest hope that our esteemed friend and benefactor realizes that by means of his gift, many children are being gathered up from circumstances of suffering and degradation and brought into a life of physical and moral health and purity and happiness. We earnestly hope that the use to which this beautiful property is being put, is meeting the approval of General de Peyster.

“RESOLVED: That we respectfully but earnestly request General de Peyster to cause to be placed in the parlor of the main building or in a niche or platform on the staircase near the stained glass window, as he may prefer, a marble bust or statue of himself, in order that not only the deaconesses who shall have charge of the work and the children in the Home but also the visitors, may become familiar with not only the name but also the face of the founder of the Institution.

“RESOLVED: That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the Minutes. Also that the Secretary be instructed to send a copy to General de Peyster.”

General de Peyster likewise gave to the Methodist Episcopal Deaconess Society the Trinity School Property, at Madalin, New York, worth sixty-five thousand dollars, containing a fine school building. The General erected a gymnasium, with assembly rooms, a separate laundry building, an ice-house, scientifically constructed, barns, out-buildings, and other improvements. The water is furnished by a windmill from a stream flowing through the land, which comprises nine acres. This school is known as the “Watts de Peyster Industrial Home and School for Girls,” and is used for the education of the friendless. General de Peyster received the following resolutions of thanks, dated 7 June, 1894.

“The ladies of the Committee on the Italian Girls’ Industrial Home, at their monthly meeting, held at the residence of Mrs. King, on Tuesday last, passed a hearty and unanimous vote of thanks to you for your noble and munificent gift to their work, which I was authorized to convey to you by letter.

“Trusting that you may be blessed in the gift, and that the Watts de Peyster home may be the means of lightening the burden from many lives for years to come, and that our Society may prove wise almoners of your bounty, I am, in behalf of the Committee, gratefully yours, Martha Griffin, Secretary.”

On 15 October, 1894, the school was formally opened. In 1899 there were sixty pupils. A number of societies connected with the school have been formed, among them the “de Peyster Auxiliary” of the Woman’s Home Missionary Society, a band called “Watts de Peyster’s Jewels,” and the “Josephine Circle.” General de Peyster’s frequent visits were the occasion of great joy and merrymaking among the children.

“Of all the good I have done or attempted to do at such large expenditures of money, of which three-fifths, if not more, have given me great dissatisfaction and even deep pain,” wrote General de Peyster, to the Superintendent of this school, “I can truly say that it has always been a subject of rejoicing that I gave the property held by you, to your association, which has done so much,—indeed everything,—to make it an honor to the locality in which it is situated, and a grand success in every sense of the word.”

CHAPTER XLVIII

CHURCHES

In 1857 General de Peyster erected Trinity Church, at Natchitoches, Louisiana, in memory of his youngest daughter. He restored it in 1900, placed a memorial tablet and presented the parish with a bell.

“Our church owes almost its existence to your patronage,” runs a letter written by a member of the parish to General de Peyster. “The walls, whose building we watched with such eager interest, the musical bell, which should speak to us weekly, the beautiful Communion service, the marble slab near the chancel, the memorial of one who was so dear to you, with the table, where our hallowed dead have been laid before taking them to their last resting place, all come to us with sweet memories of other days.”

On the Sunday after Ascension Day, 1900, special vespers was celebrated in thanksgiving for the restoration of the church. The following resolutions were adopted by the Sixty-second Annual Council of the diocese.

“Whereas, In the year 1857, and subsequently, Gen. J. W. de Peyster, of New York, as a memorial of his daughter, Maria L. de Peyster, became the largest contributor towards the building of Trinity Church, Natchitoches; and

“Whereas, During the past conciliar year he has renewed his former benefactions by generous gifts for the purpose of repairing and restoring said Church; therefore, be it

“Resolved, That this Council express its deep appreciation of the continued benefaction of Gen. de Peyster for the above named Parish, with its assurance to him of its prayers that the memory of his beloved daughter may be always associated with consoling faith in that risen

Christ who comforts those that are in sorrow and heals the stricken hearts of those who mourn.

“Resolved, That the Secretary of the Council transmit a copy of these resolutions to Gen. de Peyster.”

An expression of thanks of the parish, signed by Charles H. Levy, Z. T. Gallion, and Sinicoe Walmsley, “Committee of Vestry, Maria L. de Peyster Memorial Trinity Episcopal Church, Natchitoches, Louisiana,” runs as follows:

“Be it Resolved, that grateful thanks of the vestry and congregation of Maria L. de Peyster Memorial Trinity Episcopal Church, Natchitoches, Louisiana, be tendered General J. Watts de Peyster, for his munificent gift, in thus completing a work formally begun by him before the Civil War, and restoring this Church for worship to our Almighty God; That General de Peyster’s generous act shall ever be remembered by this Parish, and we assure him of our sincere appreciation.

“Be it further Resolved, that a copy of these proceedings be forwarded to General J. Watts de Peyster, and that they be placed in the records of this Parish, to perpetuate our grateful acknowledgment and appreciation.”

General de Peyster built the Chapel of St. Augustine in Nebraska City, and freed from debt a school for the education of colored children. Both were connected with St. Augustine’s Mission, of which his friend, Rev. R. W. Oliver, was at the time the priest-in-charge. The latter says of him: “How to speak of the kindness of General de Peyster I do not know. An experience of nearly twenty years convinces me that he never forsakes a friend, or turns a deaf ear to a good cause.”

General de Peyster gave to the Methodist denomination a church and parsonage in the town of Madalin, New York. The church, a beautiful edifice, was designed by the General himself. A tablet inside the building contains the following inscription.

“This Church was designed by John Watts de Peyster, Embodying Suggestions by its Pastor, Rev. Thomas

Elliot. The plans were drawn by Henry Dudley, Arch't., N. Y., and the work carried out and completed in accordance with Specifications and under the Superintendence of Mr. O'Connor, Arch't."

The outer wall bears a tablet inscribed to the memory of the General's two daughters.

"1892. This Methodist Episcopal Church, Dedicated to God, the Savior, and the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, is erected by John Watts de Peyster, as a Memorial of his Daughters, Estelle Elizabeth Prudence and Maria Beata."

The following Minute signed by John M. Walden, Presiding Bishop, and C. W. Millard, Secretary, was entered in the journal of the New York Annual Conference of the Methodist Church:

"Whereas, General de Peyster has presented to the Methodist Episcopal Church at Madalin a church edifice, as a tribute to the memory of his daughters, free from debt, beautiful in architectural design, and wisely adapted in all its appointments for church work; and

"Whereas, General de Peyster, with a benevolence not prompted by a denominational relation with Methodism, as he is not a member of our Church, has not only presented this well-equipped Christian temple to Methodism, but has also built and paid for and presented to the church at Madalin a parsonage; therefore,

"Resolved, That this Conference extends to General de Peyster its sincere gratitude for his large and generous benefactions, and assures him of its earnest prayers that he may share in time and in eternity the blessings of the Christian faith which his dedicated gifts will perpetuate on earth, and that the memory of his beloved daughters may always be associated in his and in our memory with the preaching of that Gospel which comforts the sorrowing and pardons the penitent.

"Resolved, That the Secretary of this Conference be instructed to prepare two engrossed copies of this action, signed by the presiding Bishop and the Secretary, one to be presented to General de Peyster, and the other to the Quarterly Conference of the church at Madalin."

General de Peyster gave substantial financial aid to the Methodist church at De Peyster, New York. The Firemen's Hall at Madalin, New York, was erected by him in memory of his sons, John Watts de Peyster, Jr., and Frederic de Peyster. He was one of the chief benefactors of St. Paul's Parish, Tivoli. This was the second Episcopalian Parish founded within Dutchess County, the church having been consecrated by Bishop John Henry Hobart, 27 May, 1819. The oldest was St. James Parish at Hyde Park. The first Wardens of St. Paul's were Edward P. Livingston, Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New York, and John S. Livingston, the first Judge of Columbia County. Connected with the parish was a free school, of which General de Peyster became the sole Trustee. Here, at one time, fifty-one children were educated by him. They presented to him a token of their gratitude, 9 March, 1857, with the following inscription:

"The Accompanying Spanish Antique Salver is presented to General J. Watts de Peyster, Sole Trustee of St. Paul's School,

"By the undersigned; fifty-one pupils attending his School in the Winter Term of 1856-57, as a small token of affection for their best friend, accompanied with the sincere assurance that they will ever bear in grateful remembrance, him, whose noble generosity educated them, without expense; whose Christian love secured them religious instruction, unmixed with sectarian prejudice; and whose whole conduct towards them is so eminently in accordance with his characteristic kindness and rare goodness."

The parish having determined to build a new church, a new site was purchased, General de Peyster giving one acre and a half. He also gave one thousand one hundred and fifty dollars toward the building fund, and his son, Colonel Frederic de Peyster, Jr., gave one hundred dollars.

The church is on an elevated spot, surrounded by noble trees. The grading of the land was done under the personal direction of General de Peyster, and every

advantage was taken of the natural beauties of the site. The church rests upon an esplanade, and in the rear, beneath the foundation, are vaults which add to its graceful outlines. The building is of rough stone, of Early English or Norman Gothic architecture. The windows, built between buttresses, are partly of stained and partly of ground glass. A gilt cross rises above the trees. The church is covered with ivy planted by the wife of General de Peyster.

There is a transept to the south whose interior forms the spacious family pews of Johnston Livingston, and General de Peyster. Immediately under the chancel is the de Peyster vault, constructed of enormous blocks of Hudson River bluestone. The entrance is closed with a wrought-iron door upon which is forged an iron monogram. On either side are two ten-pounder Parrot guns, the gift of the United States Government after the War of the Rebellion,—appropriate sentinels before a door which guards the mortal remains of two who fought for the Union. Above the facade of the de Peyster vault is a sarcophagus of Italian marble upon which are the following inscriptions:

Facing west, obverse:

“In Memory of Maria Livingston de Peyster, youngest daughter and child of John Watts and Estelle de Peyster. Born 7th July, 1852, Died 24th September, 1857.”

Facing east, reverse:

“In Memory of our beloved Aunt, Elizabeth Watts Laight, daughter of John and Jane de Lancey Watts. Died 23d June, 1866, aged 82 years.

In the rear of the church, beyond the vaults, General de Peyster placed a number of monuments. One of these, of gray marble, bears the name of John Watts on the base toward the east, and of John Watts de Peyster on the west. On the east and north side are the following inscriptions:

On the east:

“In Memory of John Watts, born in the city of New York, 27th of August, 1749 (Old Style), and died there

3rd (6th) Sept., 1836 (New Style): (3d Son of Hon. John Watts, Senior, Member King's Council, and destined Lt. Gov. Province of New York, and of Anne, eldest daughter of Etienne (Stephen) de Lancey,)—Last Royal Recorder, City of New York, 1774-77; Speaker of Assembly, S. N. Y., 1791-94; Member of Congress, U. S., 1793-95; First Judge of Westchester Co., N. Y., 1806; etc., etc., etc. Founder and Endower of the Leake and Watts Orphan House, New York City. 'Vir Aequanimitatis.'"

On the north:

"In Memory of [*] and of his wife, Mary Justina Watts, youngest Child and Daughter of Hon. John Watts, 2d; and of Jane,—[the latter] Daughter of Peter de Lancey, 'of the Mills,' Westchester Co., N. Y., and [of] Elizabeth Colden, Daughter of Cadwallader Colden, Royal Lt. Gov. and Acting Gov. Province N. Y.—Born in New York City, 26th Oct., 1801, and died there 28th of July, 1821."

An obelisk of white marble, within an enclosure guarded by two ten-pounder Parrot guns, commemorates the eldest son of the General. The monument bears military emblems and is inscribed as follows:

"In Memory of John Watts de Peyster, Jr., Major First New York Vol. Artillery, Brevet Colonel U. S. V. and N. Y. V. 'Greatly distinguished for gallantry and good conduct at the Battle of Williamsburg' (Monday, 5th May, 1862, as Aid to his cousin, Maj. General Philip Kearny), 'and no less remarked for his coolness and courage under me (Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker) at the Battle of Chancellorsville' (2d, 3d, 4th May, 1863, as Chief of Artillery, 2d Division, 6th Corps), to Maj. General Albion P. Howe. After nearly ten years unremitting suffering, the consequence of arduous service in the field, he died 12th of April, 1873, in his native City of New York, aged 31 years, 4 months and 10 days."

*The name of the General's father, Frederic de Peyster, had not yet been added when the above was copied.

In the rear of the church, against the chancel wall, a marble tablet reads:

"In the Vault beneath rest the mortal remains of Brevet Colonel John Watts de Peyster, Jr., Major 1st N. Y. Vol. Art'y. Born 2d December, 1841, in the City of New York, and died there 12th of April, 1873. 'A young officer' (whom Kearny styled 'as brave as himself') 'of zeal, energy, and fired with a patriotic ambition.' (Major Gen. Peck.) 'A soldier of great force in action, and capable by his personal heroism of inspiring others with his own fiery courage.' (Brig. Gen. Josh. T. Owen.) 'The chivalric gallantry of character and the patriotic devotion to duty which led Col. de Peyster in the voluntary performance of more than duty, to sacrifice upon the altar of his country, his health and the bright promise of a noble manhood, justly entitle him to a favorable consideration of his government and the kind consideration of his countrymen.' (Maj. Gen. A. P. Howe.) In every position, as a Staff, Cavalry, and Artillery officer, equally distinguished, he died a martyr for the Union."

Another marble monument, raised to the memory of the second son of General de Peyster, an officer during the Peninsular Campaign of 1862, bears the following inscription:

"Frederic de Peyster, Jr., Brevet Colonel, N. Y. V., Brevet Major, U. S. V. Born in New York City, 13th December, 1842. Died at Rose Hill, in the Township of Red Hook, Dutchess Co., 30th October, 1874, of diseases contracted in the field, with the Army of North-Eastern Virginia in 1861, and with the Army of the Potomac in 1862."

The reverse of the monuments indicates the last resting place of this brave soldier.

(Fourth Corps Badge, Second Division, A. of the P.)
 "The Mortal Remains lie in his father's vault, west of the church."

Unusual safeguards were taken for the protection of this burial-place by the original subscribers. Even the

vestry of the church cannot make changes which interfere with its arrangements. "This 'God's acre' is less liable to probable or possible desecration or vandalism than any other in the country," wrote General de Peyster.

The General had great reverence for the dead. This was shown by his act in placing within his own lot near the church an old grave-stone which had been dislodged from its original place in an ancient burying place on the de Peyster land. Indeed, almost all of his benefactions were given in memory of those who had "gone before."

CHAPTER XLIX

BRONZES AND PAINTINGS

General de Peyster erected many statues. In Trinity Churchyard, New York, stands a bronze statue, heroic size, of his grandfather, Hon. John Watts. The inscription on the base is as follows:

“Vir Aequanimitatis. John Watts. Born in the City of New York, August 27, 1749 (O. S.) and died there September 3, 1836 (N. S.). Last Royal Recorder of the City of New York, 1774-1777—No Records during the Revolution; Speaker of Assembly of the State of New York, January 5, 1791, to January 7, 1794; Member of Congress, 1793-1795; First Judge of Westchester Co., 1806; Founder and Endower of Leake and Watts Orphan House in the City of New York; one of the Founders and Afterwards President of the New York Dispensary, 1821-1836; etc., etc. His Remains lie in his adjacent Family Vault in this [Trinity] Churchyard. Erected in Grateful Remembrance by His Grandson, only Child of His Youngest [Child and] Daughter, Mary Justina Watts [de Peyster], John Watts de Peyster.”

In the old Bowling Green, opposite the site of the house where the General was born, and facing the new Custom House, is a bronze statue of De Heer Abraham de Peyster. It was presented by his descendant, General de Peyster, to the City of New York, and, like the statue of John Watts, was executed by the well-known sculptor, George E. Bissell. It bears the following inscription:

“Abraham de Peyster. 1685 Alderman, 1691-'95 Mayor, 1701 Comptroller, and 1708 Receiver General of the Port of New York; 1698 Member of Earl Bellomont's Council; 1698 Associate Judge of the Supreme Court; 1700 Colonel Commanding Regiment of Militia or City Train Bands; 1701 Chief Justice; 1701 President of the

King's Council and thus Acting Governor of the Province of New York; 1706-1721 Treasurer of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey. Born 8th July, 1657—died 2d Aug., 1728. Johannes, Col. Abraham de Peyster's Father, was Burgomaster 1673, Alderman 1666-'9, 1673-'6, and Deputy Mayor, N. Y., 1677; Johannes, Jr., his son, Alderman 1700-'1-'10, Mayor 1698. Erected by John Watts de Peyster, 7th Generation, in Direct Descent, Resident of, and 6th Born in 1st Ward, City of New York."

A beautiful statue of Saint Winefride, evoking with the sword of her martyrdom the fountain which feeds the Holy Healing Well, also executed by Bissell, and originally intended for one of General de Peyster's charities, the "Pinetum" at the New Home for Consumptives, was presented by him to the City of Hudson, New York. "It now adorns the beautiful fountain in the city of Hudson which issues out of its rock pedestal. The pedestal itself is a mass of natural moss-grown rocks taken from Beacraft Mountain, in the Lower Claverack Manor, near the city of Hudson, of which General de Peyster was the last patroon."

To the New York Dispensary General de Peyster presented a bust of Hon. John Watts, its President from 1821 until his death. For the gift of a silk banner to Grand Army Post, "Phil Kearny," he received the following resolution of thanks, dated at New York, 3 April, 1868, and signed by E. T. Yardley, Acting Post Adjutant. "At a regular meeting of the Post, held on the 1st inst., the following resolutions were adopted and a copy directed to be forwarded to you. 'Resolved, That the thanks of the Post be tendered to Brevet Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, N. Y. S. M., for the superb silk banner, bearing an equestrian portrait of the illustrious Kearny and adorned by the insignia of his famous Division, presented by that loyal and patriotic gentleman in a highly eloquent address at Irving Hall, on Wednesday evening, March 25, 1868.'"

To the City of Kearney, Nebraska, General de Peyster

presented a bronze bust of his cousin, Major-General Philip Kearny, in whose honor the city was named. For this gift he received the thanks of the city officials.

"The following resolutions," wrote the clerk, 27 January, 1892, "were prepared by a committee of the Council selected by the Mayor, and were reported to the Council at its last regular session, Monday evening, January 25, 1892, and were unanimously adopted by them. I was further instructed by the Mayor and Council to forward a copy of them to you. This I enclose and will only add that while it is impossible for the citizens of Kearney to add to your happiness, yet the consciousness of the pleasure you have given them must be your reward.

"Resolutions.

"Whereas, The eminent author and most distinguished citizen of New York, General J. Watts de Peyster, has shown his respect for, and liberality toward our city, which has the distinguished honor of being named after his cousin and intimate friend, the late lamented General Philip Kearny, therefore:

"Resolved, That we, the Mayor and City Council, for ourselves and in behalf of the citizens we represent, would most heartily unite in expressing to the said General J. Watts de Peyster our most heartfelt thanks for the beautiful, costly and perfect bust of that faithful, efficient and successful General, who was the hero of many hard fought battles as well as a model man in peace, General Philip Kearny.

"Resolved, That the Resolutions be spread upon the city records and a copy sent to the General J. Watts de Peyster under the seal of the city, with an invitation for him to accept the hospitality of the city at his earliest convenience."

The following letter from Clerk Hartzell, dated 9 March, 1892, acknowledges another gift to the city of Kearney: "At a regular meeting of the City Council, held February 29, 1892, the enclosed resolutions were unanimously adopted, and, in accordance therewith, I mail them to you.



BRONZE STATUE OF ST. WINEFRIDE HUDSON NEW YORK

“Resolutions.

“Whereas, Gen’l J. Watts de Peyster has seen fit to follow up his former noble gifts to the city with a very generous donation of two beautiful portraits of his illustrious and honored friend, Gen. Phil. Kearny,

“Therefore, be it Resolved: That we, the Mayor and Council of the City of Kearney, accept the generous gift of those splendid portraits for ourselves and the people we represent; and

“Resolved, That we tender our heartfelt thanks to Gen. J. Watts de Peyster for them, and

“Resolved, That said portraits shall be hung in the most conspicuous places as adornment to our City Hall, that we may ever reverence the memory of that noble man and brave General, who gave his life for his country and his name to our city, and his noble example to all mankind, and

“Resolved, That these Resolutions be spread on the City Records and a copy be sent to Gen’l J. Watts de Peyster.”

To the State of New Jersey General de Peyster gave a large equestrian portrait of General Kearny for which he was tendered the thanks of the Legislature, through Governor Leon Abbott, who wrote, 9 February, 1891, “It gives me great pleasure to transmit to you to-day the thanks of the Legislature of New Jersey for your gift to this State of an equestrian portrait of your kinsman, the gallant General Kearny. In forwarding to you this certified copy of their action, please let me express my thanks officially for this generous act on your part.

“Commonwealth of New Jersey.

“Whereas, Gen. J. Watts de Peyster, of New York City, has presented to this State a large equestrian portrait of the late Major-Gen. Philip Kearny; therefore,

“Resolved (the House of Assembly concurring), That the thanks of the Legislature of this State are hereby given to Gen. de Peyster for his generous gift of the picture of one of New Jersey’s most gallant soldiers of the late Civil War.

“Resolved, That his Excellency, the Governor, be

requested to forward a certified copy of this Resolution to Gen. de Peyster.

"I hereby certify that the foregoing resolution is a true copy of the original as passed by the Senate, February 2, 1891. John Carpenter, Jr., Secretary of Senate.

"I hereby certify that the foregoing resolution is a true copy of the original as passed by the House of Assembly, February 3, 1891. Thomas F. Noonan, Jr., Clerk of the House of Assembly."

The thanks of the State of New Jersey were also presented to General de Peyster for his gift of two paintings of the charge of General Kearny upon the City of Mexico during the Mexican War, and a bronze medallion of General McAllister. The letter of Governor George T. Werts, dated at Trenton, 9 June, 1894, with the resolution transmitted by him, were as follows:

"It gives me great pleasure to enclose you a properly authenticated copy of the resolution passed by the legislature of the State of New Jersey at its last session in reference to gifts made by you to this State.

"The State of New Jersey.

"Whereas, Gen. J. Watts de Peyster, of New York City, has presented to this State two beautiful paintings of the charge made by Gen. Philip Kearny, of New Jersey, in the Mexican War, and a bronze medallion of Brevet Maj.-Gen. Robert McAllister, of the New Jersey Volunteers; therefore

"Resolved, (the Senate concurring), That the thanks of the Legislature of this State are hereby given to Gen. de Peyster for his generous gift of pictures of a spirited charge in battle made by New Jersey's most gallant leader, and the bronze relief of one of her truest heroes in the Civil War.

"Resolved, That his Excellency, the Governor, be requested to forward a certified copy of this resolution to Gen. de Peyster.

"I certify that the above is a true copy of a resolution offered in the House of Assembly of New Jersey, by Mr. Olcott, of Essex, on April 17, 1894; duly adopted by said

Assembly on said day, and returned by message from the Senate, April 18, 1894, as having been duly concurred in by the Senate. J. Herbert Potts, Clerk of the House of Assembly, Session of 1894."

General de Peyster's gift to the State of Pennsylvania of an equestrian portrait of General Heintzelman called forth a resolution dated at Harrisburg, "in the Senate," 26 March, 1891.

"Whereas, Brevet Maj. Gen. J. Watts de Peyster, of No. 59 East Twenty-first street, New York City, author, soldier, and public-spirited citizen, from his private collection of paintings, has presented to the State of Pennsylvania an Equestrian Portrait of one of Pennsylvania's most gallant sons, Maj. Gen. Samuel Peter Heintzelman, who was born in Manheim, Lancaster county, September 30, 1805, and whose service in the Army from his graduation at West Point Military Academy in 1826, until his death, May 1, 1880, is the special pride of his native State: therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That, as evidence of the appreciation of this generous and valued gift, the thanks of the people of Pennsylvania be, and they are hereby extended to Brevet Maj. Gen. J. Watts de Peyster.

"Resolved, That the portrait of General Heintzelman be appropriately marked and placed in the State Library. E. W. Smiley, Chief Clerk of the Senate. John W. Morrison, Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives.

"Approved the 7th day of April, Anno Domini, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one. Robert E. Pattison, Governor."

The following is the expression of the thanks of the State of New York for the gift of a bronze bas-relief of an historic scene during the Revolutionary War.

"Whereas, Brevet Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, a public-spirited citizen of this State, has presented to the State a bronze bas-relief representing the 'Encampment of the Continental Troops at West Point on the Hudson, during the Revolution;' therefore

“Resolved (if the Senate concur), That, as an evidence of the high appreciation of this generous and valued gift, the thanks of the people of the State of New York be, and they are hereby extended to Brevet Major-General J. Watts de Peyster.

“Resolved, That the bronze bas-relief, representing the ‘Encampment of the Continental Troops at West Point on the Hudson, during the Revolution,’ presented by Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, be appropriately marked and placed in the Capitol by the Trustees.

“The Speaker put the question whether the House would agree to said resolution, and it was determined in the affirmative.

“Ordered, That the Clerk deliver said resolution to the Senate and request their concurrence therein.

“I certify that the above is a true copy of the resolution offered in the House of Assembly of New York, by Mr. Gray, of Dutchess, on March 20, 1894, duly adopted by said Assembly, on said day, and returned by message from the Senate, March 31, 1894, as having been duly concurred in by said Senate. G. W. Dunn, Clerk of the House of Assembly, Session of 1894.”

To the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, General de Peyster presented a statue of St. George by Donatello, a statuette of De Heer Abraham de Peyster, and busts of the General’s mother and grandfather.

At a meeting of the Trustees of Columbia College in the City of New York, held at the College on Monday, the fifth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four, the following action was taken: Extract from minutes, “Resolved, That the thanks of the Trustees be tendered to General J. Watts de Peyster for his gift to the Library of the College of two marble busts of Washington, one by Greenough and the other by Crawford; of a bronze medallion of General Phil. Kearny, a graduate of this College of the Class of 1833; and of a bronze statuette of the Lincoln Monument at Edinboro. A true copy. John B. Pine, Clerk.”

CHAPTER L

THE FERGUSON RIFLE

The War Department Library, at Washington, was the recipient of valuable works donated by General de Peyster during a period of many years. In a letter dated 1 June, 1894, acknowledging the receipt of books, Brigadier-General A. W. Greely, Chief Signal Officer, U. S. A., who was then in charge of the Library, wrote as follows to General de Peyster.

“I note with special pleasure your disposition to deposit in this library such copies of your military studies and memoirs as are at your disposal. I assure you that they will be received with great pleasure, and will be properly cared for and catalogued in the next list issued by the library. * * * *

“I was asked to supervise the library with a view to accumulating here books and literature on military subjects, to the end that it might take its proper standing among the great professional libraries of the country, and it is especially gratifying that a man of your talents and standing should be disposed to assist in this plan as much as possible. I enclose herewith a list of such of your publications as are now on file in this library.”

In addition to his donations of military works, General de Peyster presented to the War Department bronze statuettes of Generals Morgan, Schuyler, and Gates; a painting of the battle of Lookout Mountain; one of the battle of Chickamauga; a small oval portrait of Washington; a specimen of chain armor over a thousand years old; and a Ferguson rifle used in the Revolution in the battle of Brandywine, the only one of its kind in existence. The following letter, dated 16 May, 1899, was sent by Secretary of War R. A. Alger, in reply to one from General de Peyster.

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April 19, 1899, addressed to General A. W. Greely, Chief Signal Officer, stating that you have in your possession the only specimen in the world of the first breech-loading rifle, invented by Colonel Patrick Ferguson in 1775, and first used at the battle of Brandywine in 1777, and offering to donate the same to the War Department. * * * * Also, that you will likewise donate to the War Department copies now in your possession of Walker's famous paintings of Chickamauga and Lookout Mountain. * * * *

"In reply, I beg to state that the Department accepts your offer, and that upon receipt of the articles a letter of acknowledgment * * * * will be sent to you."

Upon receipt of the gifts a preliminary acknowledgment was sent by General Greely, 7 June, 1899.

"Referring to your recent letter and in connection with two other esteemed favors on the same subject," he writes, "I have had pleasure in investigating the situation here and find that the three paintings, the rifle, and the chain armor have been received by the Department in good condition.

"A letter of formal acknowledgment is in course of preparation for you in the office of the Chief Clerk, to be signed by the Secretary of War. These valuable articles have been turned over to the War Department Library for safe keeping. Appreciating in a high degree your great generosity towards this Department and your valued courtesies so often extended to the Library, I am," etc.

A more formal acknowledgment, dated at the War Department, 28 June, 1899, and signed by Secretary Alger, was sent to General de Peyster.

"In connection with previous correspondence respecting certain donations from you to this Department," writes the Secretary, "it gives me pleasure to formally acknowledge the receipt of a breech-loading rifle, which is stated to be the only specimen of its kind in the world, and used in the battle of Brandywine in the year 1777; a

specimen of chain armor, said to be from 1,000 to 1,200 years old; a painting of the battle of Lookout Mountain and one of the battle of Chickamauga, and a small oval of Washington.

"The Department justly appreciates your courtesy in making these donations, and the articles will be appropriately inscribed and preserved as indicated in previous correspondence. The donation of the additional articles referred to in your letter to Gen. Greely of the 28th ultimo, would also be duly appreciated."

In response to a suggestion in a letter dated 16 May, 1905, by Major W. D. Beach of the General Staff, in supervisory charge of the War Department Library, General de Peyster authorized the transfer of the rifle to more conspicuous quarters.

"Referring again to the Ferguson breech-loading rifle presented by you to the War Department in 1899," Major Beach wrote, "receipt of which was duly acknowledged by the Honorable R. A. Alger, Secretary of War, under date of May 16, 1899, I have the honor to inform you that repeated applications have been made by the National Museum for the transfer of this rifle from the War Department to the Museum mentioned. It has occurred to me that the Secretary of War might consent to its transfer, provided you did not object, retaining in the War Department Library a large photograph, properly mounted and inscribed. The rifle is of very great interest and would be seen by many hundreds of persons in the National Museum where it would be seen by one in the War Department Library."

An article describing the Ferguson rifle, written by General de Peyster, appeared in *Scribner's Magazine* for April, 1880. From the British Government the General obtained a copy of the specifications for his rifle filed by Colonel Patrick Ferguson with his application for a patent. The document begins:

"A. D., 1776. No. 1139. Breech-loading Fire-arms. Ferguson's Specification. To all to whom these presents shall come: I, Patrick Ferguson, Esquire, Captain of

His Majesty's Seventieth Regiment of Foot, send greeting:

"Whereas, His Most Excellent Majesty, King George the Third, by his Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, bearing date at Westminster, the Second day of December, in the seventeenth year of His reign, did give and grant unto me, the said Patrick Ferguson, my executors, admors, and assigns, during the term of years therein expressed, should and lawfully might make, use and exercise, and vend, within England, Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, and also within all His Colonies and Plantations abroad, my Invention of various improvements upon fire-arms, by means of which they load with more ease, safety and expedition, fire with greater certainty, and possess various other advantages; in which said Letters Patent there is contained a proviso, obliging me, the said Patrick Ferguson, under my hand and seal to cause a particular description of the nature of my said Invention and in what manner the same are to be performed, to be inrolled in His Majesty's High Court of Chancery, within four calendar months next and immediately after the date of the said recited Letters Patent, as in and by the same, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear.

"Now know ye, that in compliance with the said proviso, I, the said Patrick Ferguson, do hereby declare that my said Invention of improvements upon fire-arms is executed in the following manner, and agreeable to the map or plan thereof laid down in the schedule hereunto annexed, and the reference to the said plan be hereunder mentioned, that is to say," etc.

The specifications follow, after which the document concludes:

"In witness whereof, the said Patrick Ferguson hath hereunto set his hand and seal, this Seventh day of March, One thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven. Pat. (L. S.) Ferguson. Sealed and delivered (being first duly stampd), in the presence of Sarah Vale, Wm. Hardy.

“And be it remember, that on the same Seventh day of March, in the year last above mentioned, the aforesaid Patrick Ferguson came before our said Lord the King, in His Chancery, and acknowledged the Specification of the Inventions aforesaid, and all and everything therein contained and specified, in form above written. And the statute made in the sixth year of the reign of the late King and Queen William and Mary of England, and so forth:

“Inrolled the Twenty-ninth day of March, in the seventeenth year of the reign of King George the Third.”

General de Peyster presented a badge to the American Rifle Association, of Westchester County, New York, “for the encouragement of shoulder-shooting in the National Guard with military rifles.” The badge is attached to a blue ribbon and the centre is of plain burnished gold, with an engraved design of Apollo (Helios), the first archer, shooting from the chariot of the sun. On the sides are figures of an Indian and a rifleman, embodying the extremes of American missile weapons. These figures, of silver, are raised. The base represents the missiles of all ages. It was designed by Captain William Walcutt and executed by Tiffany and Company. The first match took place on Washington’s Birthday, 1875, at Mount Vernon, New York.

To the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the State of Massachusetts General de Peyster gave a collection of books, valuable photographs of Generals Kearny and Phelps, a shell taken from the battlefield of Sharpsburg, two shells taken from the field of Gettysburg, a tin canteen from the field of Williamsburg, and a rebel shell from the field of Antietam, the latter being very rare. He gave a valuable collection of books to the United States School of Engineers, at Willet’s Point, New York.

The library of the United States Military Academy at West Point was presented with a photograph of General Kearny, suitably framed, a collection of military works, including General de Peyster’s Reports as Military Agent

of New York, his life of Torstenson, his works on Napoleon, and a curious and valuable Arabian saddle and bridle. He presented collections of books to the Military Service Institution, at Governor's Island, New York, to the Toledo Soldiers' Memorial Association, to the Veterans of the Ninth Regiment, and to the Eighty-third New York Volunteers.

CHAPTER LI

COLLEGES AND LIBRARIES

General de Peyster's more important gifts to seats of learning include the beautiful Library erected for Franklin and Marshall College, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Constructed of brick and marble, it consists of a main building with a tower three stories high, from which wings extend on three sides. At the entrance marble steps ascend beneath an arch, also of marble, the top of which forms a balcony on the second story. A massive stone tablet, let into the wall on the left of the entrance, bears the inscription:

"This Library is Erected as a Memorial of John Watts, 'Vir Aequanimitatis,' and of Frederic de Peyster, 'Vir Auctoritatis,' by a Grandson and Son, Who, bearing both names, seeks to continue in their Honor the good they did and taught him."

A bronze statue of De Heer Abraham de Peyster, presented by the General, stands in front of the library. The interior of the building is very attractive. The ceilings are of pressed steel, painted a delicate blue, and the walls of brickwork of a pale straw-color. It is considered one of the most beautiful library buildings in the State of Pennsylvania. At the laying of the cornerstone, 12 May, 1897, the presentation address was made by Mr. A. H. Rothermel, on behalf of General de Peyster.

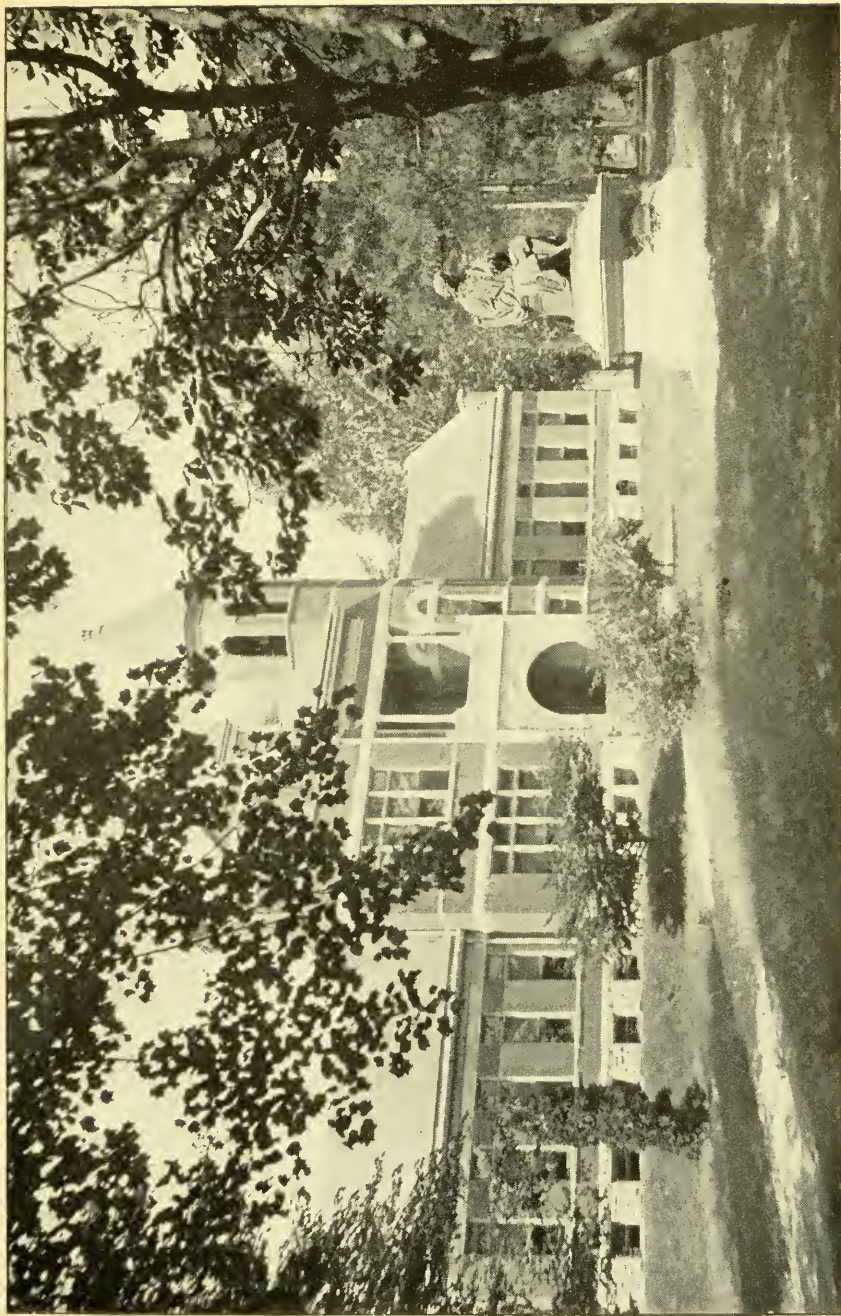
"Whatever else he has accomplished, or may accomplish, to entitle him to undying fame," said Mr. Rothermel, in part, "General de Peyster must live in history as a scholar and a patron of letters and art. Other men have dedicated their lives to study and research as a means to an end, and not unworthily so; but he has read and thought and written for upwards of

fifty years for love of knowledge. Endowed with an almost super-human breadth and grasp of intellect, sustained by a most faithful memory, he has acquainted himself with the principles of nearly every known science. In matters of public opinion, and questions of state and international policy, he has always been equally interested and well-informed. Having numbered among his close personal friends many of the presidents, generals, and public men of this country for several generations, his influence upon the policy of our government has been felt in many crises. In his quiet retreat on the Hudson, the Sage of Rose Hill has been sought for counsel and advice, by men high in authority in his native state and in the nation. And there, at Tivoli, in the new world, men of letters universally have turned to him as their friend and patron; even as they sought out Maecenas in his retreat among the Sabine Hills, near Tivoli, in the old."

Before erecting the library building General de Peyster had presented the College with many books. The following letter, expressing the gratitude of the Board of Trustees, is dated at Franklin and Marshall College, 6 July, 1894, and signed by Professor Joseph H. Dubbs, Corresponding Secretary.

"I have the honor to inform you that the Board of Trustees, at its annual meeting, held on the 17th inst., was officially informed that during the past year 'General John Watts de Peyster, Litt. D., of Tivoli, Dutchess Co., N. Y., presented to the Library of the College nine hundred and twenty volumes (he had previously presented three hundred and twenty volumes) many of which are quite valuable.' The Corresponding Secretary was, therefore, directed to convey to Gen. de Peyster the hearty thanks of the Board for his great kindness; and it was further ordered that this action be spread upon the minutes.

"Permit me to say that it affords me pleasure to be the medium of this communication; and to assure you that your generosity is greatly appreciated by all the friends of Franklin and Marshall College."



WATTS DE PEYSTER LIBRARY, FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE

Bronze Statue of De Heer Abraham de Peyster in the Foreground

The General's gifts to Columbia University, New York, cover a period of many years. The most important of his donations of books was, perhaps, the large library of authorities on Mary, Queen of Scots, together with valuable prints and portraits of the Queen. He also presented to the University a collection of one hundred and fifty volumes on the Thirty Years' War.

A gift of books to Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, elicited the following note of acknowledgment, 5 June, 1895, from President H. W. M. Knight: "The faculty wishes me to express sincere thanks to you for the copies of your writings on Napoleon presented to the College. We appreciate your kind remembrance of us, and wish that you could find it convenient to visit us and our great battlefield once more. You would see many and gratifying changes."

Donations of books and pamphlets to Harvard College cover the period between 1857 and 1901. The General also gave numerous books and pamphlets to Yale University, Princeton, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Rutgers College, the New York College, St. Stephen's College, at Annandale-on-the-Hudson, Muhlenburg College, at Allentown, Pennsylvania, McAllister College, at St. Paul, Minnesota, Mercersburg Academy, in Pennsylvania, and the Cazenovia Seminary. His gifts to Nebraska College, Nebraska City, comprised a large collection of books and many valuable pamphlets. He presented to the University of Pennsylvania numerous books and pamphlets, including his works on Napoleon.

He gave collections of books to many Theological Schools and Seminaries. One of the most notable of these donations was made to the Missionary Institute, at Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, afterwards called the Susquehanna University. He gave the works of Melanchthon, consisting of twenty-six volumes, to the Union Theological Seminary of New York. Other donations were made to the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, the Nashotah Theological Seminary, in Wisconsin, and the Drew Theological Seminary.

His gifts of books to the New York Historical Society amounted to nearly three thousand volumes, besides many pamphlets and manuscripts. The following is from the Minutes of the Society.

“New York Historical Society. At a stated meeting of the New York Historical Society, held in its Hall, on Tuesday evening, November 7, 1865, Mr. Schell, in behalf of the Executive Committee, reported the following Resolutions which they recommend for adoption:

“Resolved, That the thanks of the Society are eminently due and are hereby respectfully tendered to Gen. John Watts de Peyster, for the valuable collection of books on Holland, from his private library, brought together by him at great expense of time and money, in the prosecution of his own studies and works in Dutch History and Antiquities, and now presented by him to the Society.

“Resolved, That the books thus presented, together with the works of a similar character heretofore placed in the library by Gen. de Peyster, be arranged together and be hereafter known and distinguished as The De Peyster Collection.

“Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be communicated to Gen'l de Peyster, as a grateful acknowledgment, on the part of the Society, of this additional evidence of his zeal and interest in the objects of the institution.”

His donations to the Society also include an autograph letter of Robert Fulton, dated at Washington, 20 November, 1807, and addressed to Chancellor Livingston; a large photograph of the equestrian portrait of General Kearny; a photograph of an engraving of Diana of Poitiers; a photograph from a miniature of General McDougal; a photograph of Colonel John Lawrence; a sword of Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery; a stone hatchet, probably Indian, found on the Chancellor Livingston place; Historical Atlas of Wisconsin, Bostwick's Historical and Genealogical Charts, and many old maps, among them one of the old de Peyster property on Bloomingdale, now Cathedral Heights, New York

City. A notable gift to the Society, the De Peyster family papers, received the following acknowledgment.

“New York Historical Society. At a Stated Meeting of the Society, held on Tuesday evening, May 3d, 1892, the President submitted and read a letter from General J. Watts de Peyster, presenting to the Society a collection of Family Papers.

“The following Resolutions presented by Mr. Edward F. de Lancey were unanimously adopted.

“Resolved, That the thanks of the New York Historical Society be and are hereby given to General John Watts de Peyster for the unique and most valuable gift of the ancient historical manuscripts, documents, maps and deeds, so long in the possession of this distinguished New York family, of which he is a well-known representative; a gift which illustrates in the clearest and strongest manner New York as a Dutch Colony, an English Province, an Independent Sovereignty, and the greatest member of the Republic of the United States of North America.

“Resolved, That this collection be added to that formerly given to this Society by the donor’s honored Father [Frederic de Peyster], one of its Presidents, and that, in honor both of the Father and the Son, the joint collection be denominated The de Peyster Papers.”

Under the caption, “Watts de Peyster Collection—Napoleon Buonaparte,” the Quarterly Issue of the Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 1904, gives the following account of one of General de Peyster’s most notable donations of books.

“The collection of books in the Smithsonian Institution known as the ‘Watts de Peyster Collection—Napoleon Buonaparte,’ was brought together by General John Watts de Peyster, of New York, a descendant of the distinguished family of that name which emigrated to this country early in the seventeenth century. General de Peyster was born in 1821, just after the time of the great Napoleon, and early in life commenced to accumulate a library of Napoleonic literature which has grown

under his fostering care to a collection of books numbering in the thousands. Through his untiring efforts the world has been searched for books, pamphlets, maps, etc., relating to Napoleon Buonaparte, or to the military celebrities and others connected with him.

“In the latter part of 1901 General de Peyster offered to the Institution the collection, to be held intact and to be known by the name above given. General de Peyster estimated that there would be about two thousand titles, but considerably more than that number have been received, and there is promise that further search will reveal others in the libraries of General de Peyster’s residences at Tivoli and New York City. At the time of sending the first part of the collection General de Peyster conservatively estimated its value at ten thousand dollars, but this estimate is evidently far below the real pecuniary worth of the collection, as many of the volumes have long been out of print and are now well nigh priceless. As a historical collection the value of the library is beyond estimate.

“The books, together with the pamphlets and maps, are cared for in twenty-four cases specially built for them and arranged along the north and south walls of the main hall of the eastern wing of the Smithsonian building. Each group of cases is provided with a conspicuous label giving the name of the collection. A number of busts of Napoleon and of others of his time, which General de Peyster collected in connection with the library, are to be placed on the tops of the cases as soon as proper mountings are prepared. A special bookplate is in preparation and as soon as engraved will be placed in each volume. It is hoped that ere long a complete card catalogue will be made and published, thus making this magnificent collection more fully accessible to students.

“In addition to his Napoleonic library, General de Peyster has presented a large number of histories of the American Revolution and the Civil War, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and other books of reference, together with

numerous works on Gypsies, all of which he acquired during the prosecution of his various studies. Through his munificence, also, the historical collections of the Institution have been enriched by many objects relating to the Colonial period of America, including tableware, pistols, guns, pictures, etc.”

General de Peyster also presented to the institution a portrait of General Cust of the British Army, photographs of war shells and bullets, and four prints of the Wolverine. He gave to the Library of Congress a large number of books and pamphlets. To the State Library at Albany, New York, he donated many books and pamphlets, including a large and valuable collection of Early English Law Reports, together with a marble bust of Hon. John Watts, a photograph from the original painting of Dr. John Livingston, photographs of General de Peyster and Leonard Torstenson, photographs of Swedish medals, eleven engravings of battlefields, maps, a number of portraits, medals, coins, and a bow and arrow.

To the Massachusetts State Library he gave a collection of books, as also to the Library of the State of Pennsylvania. To the Vermont State Library he presented photographs of Generals Kearny and Phelps and a number of volumes. To the Michigan State Library he gave numerous books and pamphlets, including numbers of the United Service Magazine. To the Mercantile Library of New York he gave many valuable books and pamphlets, as he did to the Lenox, Astor, Cooper Union, and New York Society libraries. He gave books and pamphlets to the Mercantile Library of the city of Brooklyn. The Boston Public Library received from him nearly a hundred books and many pamphlets. To the Brookline, Massachusetts, Library he gave four pamphlets.

The Libraries of Duluth and Helena were the recipients of large collections of books, while he made additions to the libraries of Reading, St. Louis, and the Redwood Library of Newport, Rhode Island. To the

Detroit Public Library he gave many books and pamphlets and a portrait of Arent de Peyster. The Lyceum Library, at Casenovia, New York, is indebted to him for a large number of volumes. In addition to the portraits and the bust presented by him to the city of Kearney, Nebraska, he gave to its Public Library donations of books.

One of his gifts to the State Library at Albany drew forth the following, dated 26 September, 1898, from the State Historian, Mr. Hugh Hastings.

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed favor of the 25th inst., and also the two valuable pamphlets which were read by your father, Frederic de Peyster, before the New York Historical Society, on 'Representative Men of the English Revolution,' and 'Life and Administration of the Earl of Bellomont,' for which it is hardly necessary for me to say I tender you my most grateful thanks.

"It is somewhat of a commentary on the way our American people have of doing things, that the only papers which are accessible to the public by the generosity of the State, represent two dyed-in-the-wool Republicans like George Clinton and Daniel D. Tompkins, while the papers of John Jay at Washington, Alexander Hamilton and George Washington are manipulated from the Government Archives for private purposes and private profit."

To the Museum of Natural History of the City of New York General de Peyster made many additions. He presented it with a large collection of valuable books, many of them early editions, very rare. The Librarian, Anthony Wood, writes in acknowledgment of one set presented in 1902:

"The four little volumes of American Ornithology, or the Natural History of the Birds of the United States, by Alex. Wilson and Chas. Lucian Bonaparte, edited by Chas. Jameson, dated 1831, are a great addition to our Library. I showed it to Prof. Allen, and he was very much pleased to see this edition. I will venture to state that it is the only copy that can be found in New York

City Libraries. We now have the four editions, one in 1828, 1831, 1832, and 1852, and the edition you presented is the rarest."

The General presented another edition of this work to the museum in 1903. Other gifts are a photograph of a Woodchuck, specimens of Moosewood, a section of pear tree perforated by Peckers, a fur cap, and a large collection of maps. A note of thanks from Curator J. A. Allen, in acknowledgment of one of his gifts, contains the following:

"The mounted specimen of Wolverine has reached the Museum in excellent condition. It is the most highly colored and in the best coat of any specimen I have ever seen, and forms a greatly appreciated addition to our collection."

General de Peyster made contributions to the Holland Society of New York; to the New England Historic Genealogical Society, to which he gave, in addition to books and pamphlets, a photograph of a portrait of Dr. Livingston, and a photograph of Swedish medals; gave collections of books to the State Libraries of Wisconsin and Montana, to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, and to the Historical Societies of New Jersey, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Michigan, Northern Indiana, and Montana; donated to the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in addition to books and pamphlets, photographs of John Livingston and reproductions of Swedish medals; and gave to the Oneida Historical Society his works on Napoleon.

To the Long Island Historical Society he gave important works on the Civil War. To the Minnesota Historical Society he presented a large collection of volumes, and portraits of Generals Kearny and Phelps. He gave volumes to the Historical Society of Ulster County, New York. To the Historical Society of Montgomery County, New York, he deeded Fort Johnson, a relic of Colonial times. To the New Brunswick Historical Society he gave a map of Claremont, Fredericton, granted to Colonel

Abraham de Peyster for his services during the Revolution.

To the Newport Historical Society he gave books, pamphlets, and a large photograph of General Kearny; to the Buffalo Historical Society presented a number of volumes and pamphlets; and to the library of the Historical Society of Chicago, Illinois, made valuable additions. To the Library of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, he gave many volumes, a photograph of General Kearny, and two casts of medals bearing the head of Frederic, King of Prussia. The American Antiquarian Society Library benefited by his generous gifts. To the American Geographical Society he presented a large collection of books, pamphlets and maps.

He gave large collections of books and pamphlets to the British Museum, to the Royal United Service Institution, and to the Royal Colonial Institute. To the Society of Science, Letters and Art, London, he gave nearly a hundred volumes, together with valuable facsimile maps. To the Royal Historical Society he presented a valuable library, including his own works. To the famous Bodleian Library, at Oxford, he made a number of donations, and also to the University Library at Cambridge. Other presentations to English institutions are collections of pamphlets and books to the West Hara Public Library, at Stratford, and to Chetham's Library, at Manchester.

The Advocates' Library at Edinburgh was presented with a large collection of books, pamphlets, and magazines. Mr. I. T. Clark, the Keeper of the Library, wrote General de Peyster as follows: "In sending you the Curator's acknowledgment for the valuable gift that you have just sent to their Library, I would like the opportunity of asking you to accept my sincere personal thanks for your long and continued kindness to this Library in presenting it with so many valuable publications. I also feel grateful for the appreciative remarks you were good enough to make regarding the 'Macfarlane Genealogical Collections.' The Sir William Fraser, whose Trustees



BRONZE STATUE OF DE HEER ABAHRAM DE PEYSTER,
FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE, LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA
John Watts de Peyster, donor ; George E. Bissell, sculptor

published the work, is not the same as Sir Wm. Augustus Fraser, author of *Hic Ubique*, &c., and donor a year ago of the very valuable manuscript of Scott's 'Marmion' to this Library."

In acknowledgment of the gift of his own works, the Curators expressed their thanks through Mr. Stewart, who wrote: "The Curators instruct me to return you their most cordial thanks for the handsome gift of your works, which are not in the Library. They will be carefully arranged and bound into volumes.

"We are especially glad to have Law's book, which is of supreme interest—especially the Scotch portion. He gives his experience in the most racy fashion. The Carnegie bits I thoroughly relished.

"I can sympathize with your troubles, and can quite understand them, as the older I get the more disinclined I am to put pen to paper. But the enormous amount of work you have done entitles you to a rest. When I look at the bundle you have sent us I am fairly appalled with astonishment. You remind me of the old monks who worked for ever on their missals—less time for meals.

"Andrew Lang is not thought an accurate historian here, but simply a scribbler and sorry book-maker. I am at one with you about Queen Mary's appearance—that she was more fascinating than beautiful."

The Clarendon Historical Society of Edinburgh, was the recipient of nearly fifty books and many pamphlets. To Trinity College at Dublin, the General presented a number of volumes, as he did also to the South African Public Library at Cape Town. One of the most important of his donations is the collection of volumes and pamphlets sent to the University of Upsala in Sweden. He each year presented to this University, the Johns Hopkins "Studies in Political Science." To the Hongl Bibliotheket, at Stockholm, he made donations. To the Literary Association of the Netherlands at Leyden he made a number of donations covering a period, from 1865 to a year before his death. These included

numerous volumes, among them many covering the history of the Rebellion.

He made contributions to many libraries, historical societies, and seats of learning in Canada, among them a collection of books to McGill University at Montreal, and to the University of Toronto. To the Library of Parliament at Ottawa he gave a number of volumes. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec received from him a large collection of books, including works on General Grant, with many pamphlets and magazines, and a photograph of General Kearny. To the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal he gave numerous books and pamphlets, with portraits of Honorable John Watts and of Arent de Peyster. He also made donations of books and pamphlets to the New Brunswick Historical Society.

CHAPTER LII

PERSONAL TRAITS

General de Peyster's personal interest in the charities which he had founded, and in the institutions to which he made donations continued throughout his life.

When the apple and pear orchards at "Rose Hill" yielded their ripe fruits, it was his custom, year after year, to ship it away in boxes and barrels to friends and acquaintances and to needy persons known to him. At the approach of Thanksgiving Day and at Christmas time he purchased a supply of turkeys, chickens, wild game, plum-puddings, and other suggestions of good cheer, which found their way in baskets to his friends and to the poor. The needy of his acquaintance were often surprised by the delivery at their homes of boxes of tea, bottles of a superior wine, or generous packages of delicacies.

On a freezing day of a winter of unusual hardships the General, seeing a man, thinly clad, enter a provision shop, followed him. After the man had given his humble order and departed, General de Peyster directed the clerk to place the order in a basket and to fill it with food, going around the shop and pointing out the articles he wished to have included. More than once he remarked to the writer that he had derived more satisfaction from his simple gifts to the poor than from his large public benefactions.

We do not know what kindness is alluded to in the following letter from General Daniel Butterfield to General de Peyster, 9 February, 1898, but it is typical of the expressions of gratitude found by the writer in the General's correspondence during the preparation of these volumes.

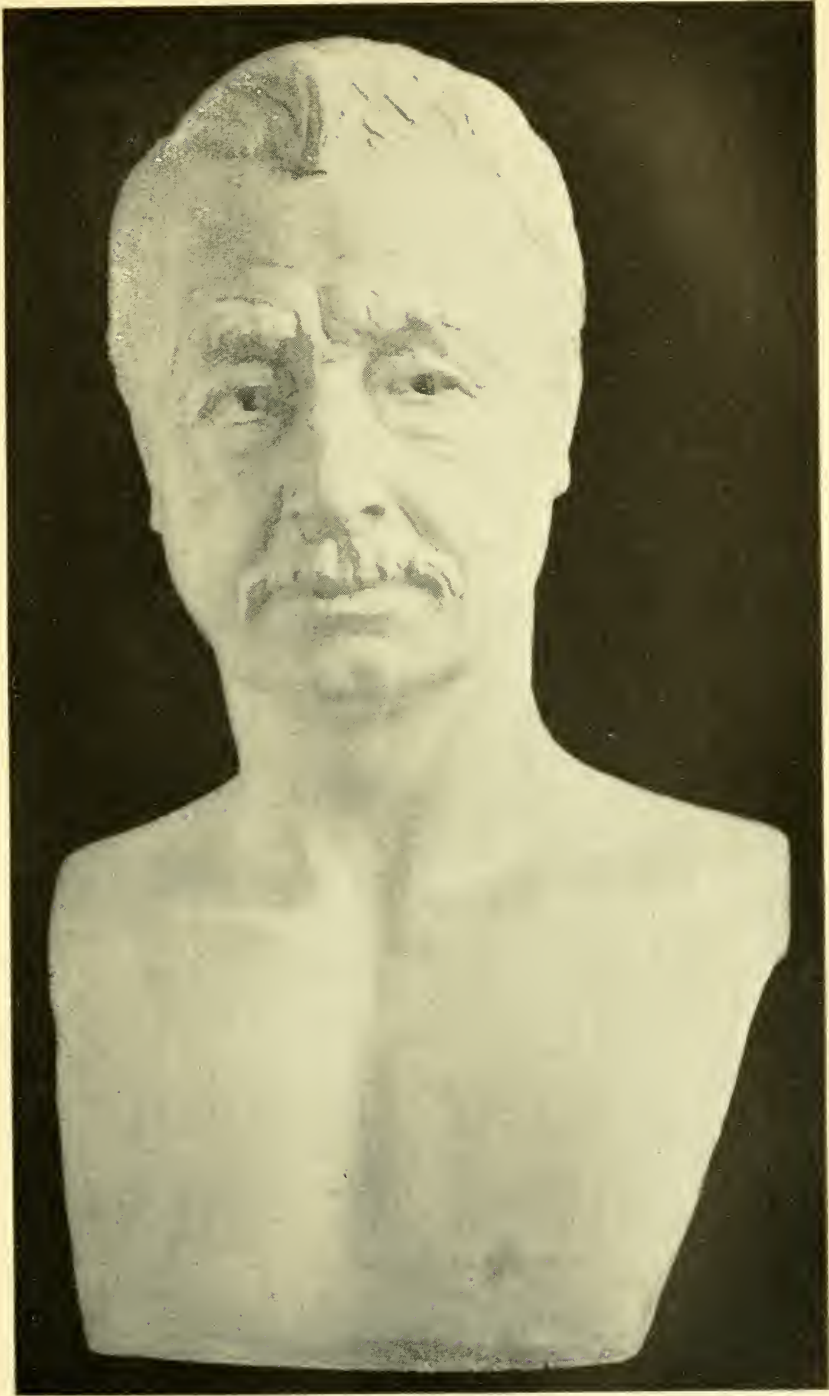
"The military world, of New York State particularly,"

writes General Butterfield, "will some day yet do you full justice for your patient, earnest, and valuable work for New York State troops—without which, in my judgment, there would not have been so many prepared and so well prepared for the duties they were called upon to perform in 1861. Your part of their education was of exceeding value.

"Look at the want of recognition to others. It will all come right some day. I want to thank you, personally and cordially, for your kindness to me and mine before the war and during the war. What you did for me I have never failed to appreciate and be grateful for. If I have never said it to you, I have to others, and now I say it to you."

The General's insight forced him to penetrate the artificial glamour of the world, its institutions, its opinions, and to estimate them at their true worth. As a result he often characterized things in plain and even brusque terms, calculated to alarm and shock conventional nonentities and sleepy optimists. He did not dispense with the amenities and courtesies of intercourse—no one could be kindlier, more agreeable, or more considerate—but he largely divested himself of the hypocrisies of life. He did not wear the cloak of conventionality and insincerity in which so many wrap themselves till it becomes a part of their being—an element in their character. To many his candor seemed a serious blemish, an evidence of marked idiosyncrasy. To thinking men, however, contact with such a force was as invigorating as it must have been uncomfortable to shallow exponents of mere propriety.

He suffered ill-health during the greater part of his life—was often the victim of intense physical pain. Most of his literary work was done under such conditions. His letters reveal a constant wrestle with the depressing effects of suffering. Other elements joined with these to tinge his life and thought with a touch of disappointment. As we have seen, his enthusiasm in connection with the New York Militia and during the Civil War



BUST OF JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER
Modeled by George E. Bissell

suffered rebuff. His writings, too, are of a character which necessarily appeals to a small and discriminating audience, and almost invariably in such cases the full measure of appreciation comes posthumously.

These things made General de Peyster a more profound philosopher; contributed a ripeness, depth, and pungency to his opinions and his writings. Their personal effect, however, more and more was to throw him back upon himself and to cause him to say of life, "What profiteth it?" He outlived all the friends and acquaintances of his early years, and in later life a sense of aloofness sometimes added itself to the texture of his thought.

"I know not what put it in my head," he writes to a friend, "but I woke up this morning with a half-dreamy consideration of the past. Strange to say, my mind wandered back to my 'Mammy' Trainque's house in Hudson Street, and a famous supper I gave there. Of all the guests that I am sure were present, with the exception of one, all are dead,—Gus Jay, John March, Pink Stuart, Captain Cornish, Fred Anthon, Duncan Cooper, Zeb Ring. Lewis Wilkins I have not seen for, certainly, twenty-five years. Whether he is dead or no, I know not. All the rest are gone, and the majority were men of such iron strength they gave the promise of very long lives. I was the invalid of the party, and here I am, but I am not the John de Peyster even of last summer. Physically, I have aged ten years since I was at Canandaigua, and matured mentally twenty years.

"If I was another man I could not look more differently upon life than I did then and do now. 'Cui bono?' is ringing all the time in my ears, and life has come to appear to me to be all that Solomon declared. As Colonel Mehan observed, in a different sense, 'I am fatigued with all this.' With this remark he slapped the face of a general who had been 'blowing.' Per contra, in my case, Fate has slapped me, and yet I have the greatest reason to thank God for all the blessings I enjoy."

Even as he was depressed at times by physical pain, disappointment, ingratitude, and the shadows of clouds

which showed themselves threateningly on the political horizon, so was he occasionally elated—inspired—by a spirit of buoyant and almost boyish enthusiasm. “One day,” he writes, “I came in from the road in a good humor, happy, blithe, content—a rare occurrence in these latter days, when I always come back with the ‘blues’—and told my clerk to take his pen, and I then and there dictated the skeleton of an article on Yorktown which grew to thirty-five pages.

“I was very diffident about it, although the editor wrote me that ‘he was proud of it.’ Imagine my astonishment when I received a letter to-day—that they are striking off ten thousand copies of it, in addition to the usual edition in the Magazine.”

His ailments and physical experiences, like everything else that came within his range of observation, were matters of peculiar interest and scientific inquiry. Physicians who attended him were subjected to intelligent cross-examination and their opinions commented upon in a way that astonished and sometimes disconcerted them. In his reminiscences he gives us the following interesting account of a very curious experience.

“Some years ago I was suffering from neurasthenia, or nerve prostration, caused, as the doctor said, by mental overwork. One morning, after I got up, I was sitting in front of the fire, and my clerk was writing at the table near by, when I seemed to come out of myself and stand, a distinct individuality, looking down upon my sitting-self, and wondering, somewhat frightened, if the standing existence was going to get into the sitting form again. All at once, my standing-self came to the conclusion to ask my clerk to get me a drink of whiskey.

“Whatever it was, whether at my voice, or the spot from which it seemed to come, my clerk was startled and appeared scared; still he got the whiskey. My sitting-self drank it and gradually my standing-self seemed to return slowly into my sitting-self. All further that I can recall is that my feelings were very peculiar.

“Once afterward similar sensations occurred to me in

bed, in Philadelphia, after taking a cold bath, when I was very much fatigued, and at night, before going to sleep. I knew I was very cold, and I seemed to be coming out of myself. My wife got me a glass of whiskey, and as I became warm, things went on naturally.

“I afterwards read of the Buddhist or Schamanistic idea of an Astral Entity, which could disengage itself and remain sometimes distinct and absent from the flesh, which meanwhile continued torpid. Subsequently, Dr. John E. Lossee sent me to consult a famous expert on nervous diseases, Dr. Beard, since dead, who told me that he had on record several instances such as I have related. It never happened again, I am thankful to say.”

General de Peyster exhibited remarkable powers of memory, and as his reading—and he was a constant and omnivorous reader—was of the widest scope, he had at command for instant use a range of human knowledge which almost made him appear to be a specialist in every department. Happy in applying the deductions from his vast store of information in any line of thought pursued, he was a brilliant and interesting conversationalist.

In his later years he was a great sufferer from insomnia, and on such occasions he could be found in his bed or upon a couch reading in the soft light of half a dozen candles—a book in one hand, a pen or pencil in the other, and a dozen volumes lying within convenient reach. In his reading it was his custom to underscore passages which impressed him or to which he might wish to refer, and to annotate with copious marginal notes.

Notes will be found in a majority of the books which formed his large private library, thousands of which were given away to college libraries. These marginal annotations must greatly enhance the value of the volumes for discerning readers who have access to them. They are rich with the fruits of the General's enormous research,

astonishing memory, and critical judgment. They form a valuable commentary upon the text. They indicate corroborative or adverse evidence to be found elsewhere, which only the painstaking investigation of innumerable authorities could supply. Many of the works referred to in these notes are so rare and so little read that there is small chance that the ordinary student will have heard of their existence.

The General once possessed a library of some fifty thousand volumes, which by his generous gifts of books to colleges and libraries had been reduced about one-half in his later years. The writer can testify to the remarkable knowledge of the contents of these volumes possessed by their owner. Again and again, arrived at some point in our conversation in which we differed as to the facts, I have known him to stop and direct me to go to a certain shelf in a certain room of his library where, in the position on the shelf designated by him, I would find a volume. He would open the book and turn to the page he desired as if by magic. I am bound to add that in our differences as to questions of fact, he was almost invariably able to confront me with an authority.

By ancestral inheritance an aristocrat, and with his entire life lived in outward circumstances which naturally would have fostered this tendency, his philosophical bent of mind and comprehension of the real value of men and things tended ever more and more to make him a democrat toward his neighbor and a republican toward the State. While human dignity and lofty social and political standing, apart from inherent manhood, elicited no response, he had a rare kindness of heart for mankind, and took pains to exhibit a special consideration toward those beneath him in the social scale. He had the grace of the ideal gentleman in making all such feel at ease in his presence, and he threw the tender arms of an enduring friendship about many a man in the humbler walks of life.

He had a profound conviction that God presides over the destinies of our country for wise purposes of His



JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER
From a Photograph taken in 1905

own. This was his consolation and assurance in the face of disturbing symptoms which sometimes seemed to prophesy financial, social, or political upheaval. "Few men live who know as much as I do of the inside of American history," he wrote to the Count of Paris. "God alone has brought us through our various trials. No man, no set of men—God alone. I have hoped in the endurance of the United States because I believe that God is, here in the United States, solving some great problem in connection with humanity.

"A Dutch ambassador or minister said that during his residence of many years in the United States he had witnessed frequent crises when, according to the ordinary calculations of chances, the whole thing ought to have gone to pieces, but when the culmination was reached something beyond human calculation intervened, readjusted the machinery, and everything came right again. 'This,' said the acute Dutchman, 'has brought me to the conclusion that there is a special Providence for idiots, lunatics, drunken people, and the United States.'"

As early as 3 March, 1864, General de Peyster wrote to Reverend Doctor Coxe: "I am just reading your graceful sketches of England, but, mercy me, with what different feelings! You speak of 'Brutal Cromwell,' and of gratitude to Charles I. I say, glorious Cromwell, the greatest of England's rulers, save the Dutchman, William III., and—I came near using a word—false Charles, false to Stafford, false to England, false to himself! Young, I was very aristocratic; middle age, I am thoroughly republican, because I believe democracy, in the true sense of the word, Biblical. You seem almost monarchical in your feelings. I can understand, for I felt so once. Now I look on monarchy as a humbug. My dear country, the republica, takes the place, and I embrace the flag, with less emotion, perhaps, but truer devotion, than did that arch hypocrite, Napoleon, the flag of his sacrificed Guard."

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1860

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Ho! for the Pole! By Anchor, octavo, from the *Living Age*, 9 June, pages 615-618, 4 August, pages 263-268.

Cape Cod and its Neighborhood, by J. W. de P., in the *New York World*, 11 September.

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Aculco, A Ballad of Mexico, by Anchor, in the *Military Gazette*, Volume III, page 326, 1 November.

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Examples of Intrepidity, by K., in the *Military Gazette*, 1 and 15 October, 15 November, 1 and 15 December.

1861

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Mortality among Generals, by Anchor, in the *Military Gazette*, Volume IV, page 24, 15 January.

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New York to Washington, by Anchor, in the Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle, Poughkeepsie, New York, 20 June.

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Justice to McDowell's Army, by Anchor, in the Republican and Democrat, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 24 September.

Parallels to Bull's Run, by Anchor, in the Republican and Democrat, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 24 September.

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Military Lessons and Ideas Indispensable to the Comprehension of War, by Anchor, in the New York Leader, 2, 16, and 23 November.

Reflections on the Defence of Military Positions, by Anchor, in the Republican and Democrat, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 12 November.

Military Maxims, by Anchor, in the New York Leader, 7 December.

Notions on Tactics, by Anchor, in the New York Leader, 9 November, 1861, 18 and 25 January, 15 February, 1862.

1862

Winter Campaigns, * * * by Anchor, Charles G. Stone, New York, 24 pages, duodecimo.

Military Conversation about Uniforms, Equipment, Artillery, etc., by Anchor, in the New York Leader, 8 March.

Wisdom out of History on the Present Relation of Our

Government to Slavery, the Republican, Chester, Pennsylvania, 16 May, reprinted in the Eagle, Poughkeepsie, New York, 28 June.

Article on Slavery in the Republican, Chester, Pennsylvania, 18 April.

Comparison between American Slavery and Slavery among the Hebrews and Early Christians, in the Republican and Democrat, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 27 May.

A Visit to Old Point Comfort and about the Contrabands there, in the Eagle, Poughkeepsie, New York, 12 July.

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Modern Tactics, by Anchor, in the New York Leader, 18 October.

Battles in Forests, by Anchor in the New York Leader, 1 November.

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1863

Practical Strategy as illustrated by the Life and Achievements of * * * the Austrian Field Marshal Traun, by J. Watts de Peyster, Catskill, J. Joesbury, 64 pages, octavo.

Military Lessons. Louis XI, by Anchor, in the New York Leader, 6 June.

Military Lessons, Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War, by Anchor, in the New York Leader, 27 June.

Black Troops. Had Hannibal and Napoleon Black Blood in their Veins? In the Morning Express, Buffalo, New York, 17 July.

Greek Fire, by Anchor, in the New York Times, 26 September.

Secession in Switzerland and in the United States Compared, being the Annual Address before the Vermont Historical Society, 20 October, by J. Watts de Peyster, 72 pages, octavo, Catskill, J. Joesbury.

An Interesting Article. The present revolution foretold 65 years ago, in the Democratic Journal, Catskill, New York, 22 October.

The Conduct of Military Operations, by Anchor, in the New York Times, 15 and 22 November.

1864

Guizot's Meditations on the Immorality of the Soul, translation by Brevet Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, 24 pages, duodecimo.

General Joe Hooker, a poem in the New York Evening Post, 27 April.

Secession, Historical Parallels, in the New York Times, 1 May.

The War in Denmark, by Anchor, in the New York Times, 15 May.

The Apparition which frightened the Governor of Provence out of his Capital, Marseilles, by Anchor, in the New York Leader, 9 July.

Medical Organization of the Roman Army, by Anchor, in the United States Army and Navy Journal, 6 August.

So Absalom stole the Hearts of the Men of Israel. Poem, by Anchor, in the Poughkeepsie Eagle, Poughkeepsie, New York, 6 August.

The Lessons of History, by Anchor, in the New York Times, 8 August.

Medical Arrangements of the Ancients, by Anchor, in the United States Army and Navy Journal, 13 and 27 August.

Who invented Shell Guns? By Anchor, in the Army and Navy Journal, 3 December.

Farragut. A Poem by J. Watts de Peyster, in the *New York Times*, 14 December.

John Cavalier, by Anchor, in the *Army and Naval Journal*, 17 December.

General Joe Hooker, a poem by Anchor, in the *New York Times*, 18 December.

1865

Sherman. A Poem, by Anchor, in the *New York Times*, 1 January.

Von Bulow's Military Remarks on the Revolutionary War, by Anchor, in the *Historical Magazine*, May.

Chancellorsville and its Results. Major-General Joseph Hooker in command of the Army of the Potomac, by Anchor, June.

1866

Schuyler and Practical Strategy, by Anchor, J. Watts de Peyster, dated Rose Hill, 27 January.

The War in Europe, by Anchor, in the *New York Times*, 4 July.

Prussia and Austria, by Anchor, in the *Daily Star*, Hudson, New York, 24 July.

A Scrap of Local History, by Anchor, in the *Advertiser*, Red Hook, New York, 8 September.

The Reade Vault, by De P. and M., in the *Advertiser*, Red Hook, New York, 6 October.

History of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Regiment, by Anchor, in the *Red Hook Journal*, 12 October.

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1867

The Decisive Conflicts of the Late Civil War. * * * The Maryland Campaign of September, 1862, by J. Watts de Peyster, 76 pages, three maps, octavo. MacDonald & Company, New York.

An Address upon the Inauguration of a Monument erected by "this immediate neighborhood to her defenders," delivered in Feller's Hall, Madalin, New York, 28 November, 1866, by Brevet Major-General J. Watts de Peyster. New York, 122 pages, lx, octavo.

The Austro-Prussian War, a chronological synopsis, translated by General de Peyster, in the *New York Citizen*, 9 February.

A Theatrical Reminiscence, in the *New York Citizen*, 9 March.

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Letters from the Battlefield, by Anchor, in the *New York Citizen*, 8 June. 1868

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The Maryland Campaign of June, July, 1863, by J. Watts de Peyster, 163 pages, three maps, octavo. MacDonald & Company, New York.

Mosquera's March, in the *Soldiers' and Sailors' Half Dime Weekly*, Volume II, Number 5, pages 127-128.

On to Magdala, by Anchor, in the *Soldiers' and Sailors' Half Dime Magazine*, Volume II, Number 12, pages 327-330.

Williamsburgh, by Anchor, in the *Soldiers' and Sailors' Half Dime Magazine*, Volume II, Number 10, pages 271-282, and in Number II, pages 299-305.

Reunion of Post Phil Kearny, 25 March, 1868 * * *
Banner Presentation and Address, by Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, 6-17 pages, duodecimo. W. O. Bourne, New York.

Burgoyne's Campaign. Justice to Schuyler, by Anchor, in the *New York Citizen*, 11 January.

Gettysburg, July 2, 1863, by Anchor, in the *New York Citizen*, 28 March.

The Chrysophrase, in *New York Public Spirit*, pages 216-221, octavo, June.

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Grant, Our Watchword! A poem, dated Tivoli, July, one leaf, octavo. 1869

Personal and Military History of Philip Kearny, by John Watts de Peyster, 13-434 pages, octavo. Rice & Gage, New York.

Sickles' Raid, by Major-General de Peyster, in the Volunteer, Volume I, Number 2, pages 31-33.

Third Corps at Gettysburg, July 2, 1863. General Sickles Vindicated, by Brevet Major-General De Peyster, in the Volunteer, Volume I, Numbers 11, 12, 13.

Thrice Killed, by Anchor, in the Volunteer, Volume I, Number 3, pages 59-63.

Kearny's Death and Burial, by Major-General de Peyster, in the Volunteer, Volume I, Number 4, pages 97-110.

A Hero of the Seventeenth Century, by Anchor, in the Volunteer, Volume I, Number 1, pages 22-30.

✓ Decisive Battles of the Late Rebellion, by Major-General de Peyster, in the Volunteer, Volume I, Number 7, pages 186-193.

Character of Phil Kearny, by Major-General De Peyster, in the Volunteer, Volume I, Number 1, pages 1-16.

Oriskany, by Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, in the Historical Magazine, January.

After Gettysburg and at Williamsport, by Anchor, in the Soldiers' Friend, New York, 27 March.

Thomas and Nashville, by Anchor, in the Soldiers' Friend, New York, 3 and 10 April.

The Conquest of Canada, by General J. Watts de Peyster, in the Historical Magazine, pages 297-305, May.

William Starke Rosecrans, by Anchor, in the Soldiers' Friend, New York, 1 and 8 May, 5 and 12 June.

The Army of the Potomac. General Humphreys at Fredericksburg, by General J. Watts de Peyster, in the Historical Magazine, June, pages 353-356.

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Chancellorsville, by Anchor, in the New York Citizen, 14 August.

Fredericksburg, in Onward, New York, September, pages 199-208.

Turcune-Sheridan, by Anchor, in the New York Citizen, 11 September.

Correspondence, concerning a flood in Dutchess County, New York, dated Tivoli, New York, 5 October, 1869, by Anchor, in the Citizen Soldier, New York, 30 October.

Chancellorsville, in Onward, New York, October, pages 337-341; November, pages 411-422; December, pages 471-485.

Porto Venere, by Anchor, in the New York Citizen, 1 December.

The Old Tower Well-hole, by Anemone, in the New York Citizen, 4, 11, and 18 December.

1870

Chancellorsville, in Onward, New York, January, pages 35-46; February, pages 155-164; February, supplement, xxi-xxxii.

Personal and Military History of Philip Kearny, by John Watts de Peyster, 13-512 pages, 2 portraits, octavo. Palmer & Company, Elizabeth, New Jersey.

Grant's Campaign from the South * * * against Vicksburg, by General J. Watts de Peyster, in the Historical Magazine, pages 26-31, January.

Lizzie, A Poem, in Onward, page 165, New York, February.

A Dead Hero, in Onward, pages 172-173, New York, February.

To Lizzie, by Anemone, in the New York Citizen, 5 February.

Colonel George E. Farmer, by J. W. de P., in the New York Evening Mail, 21 February.

Fechter's Hamlet, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 21 February.

From Chancellorsville to Gettysburg, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, Volume VII, 12 and 19 March, New York.

Sheridan's Ride. A Reply to an Inquiry, by Anchor, in the Historical Magazine, pages 251-253, April.

Canst Thou Forget? A poem, by Speranza, in the New York Citizen, 23 April.

New York to Richmond via Annapolis, in the Citizen and Round Table, 23 and 30 April.

Fechter as Claude Melnotte, by De P., in the New York Citizen, 30 April.

A Brilliant Military Career, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 12 May.

Mahone, the Fighter, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 13 May.

History versus Poetry. "Sheridans Ride," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 24 May.

Fechter, in "The Corsican Brothers," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 24 May.

Our Militia Organization, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 31 May.

A Military Memoir of William Mahone, Major-General in the Confederate Army, by J. Watts de Peyster, in the Historical Magazine, pages 390-406, June.

Falconer Benefit at Wallack's, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 11 June.

Leclerq. A Review, in the New York Citizen, 11 June.

History repeating itself, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 21 June.

The Late General Hamblin, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 7 July.

Horatio G. Wright, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 17 July.

Leonard Torstenson, Swedish Field Marshal-Generalissimo, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Citizen, 9, 16 and 23 July.

Our Army at Yorktown, by Anchor, in the Cosmopolitan, New York, 23 July.

The Old Third Corps. General A. A. Humyhreys, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 4 August.

Heintzelman, by Anchor, in the New York Citizen, 6 August.

The Old Third Corps. Major-General Gershon Mott, by Anchor, 8 August.

Sickles. The Third Commander of the Glorious old Third Corps, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, Volume VII, New York, 13 August.

Chancellorsville, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, Volume VII, New York, 20 and 27 August, 3, 17 and 24 September, 1, 8, and 15 October.

Improvements in the Art of War, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 30 August.

Papal Infallibility, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 5 October.

What does it mean? By Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 13 October.

What Little Holland could do, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 20 October.

Battle of Wapping Heights, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, New York, 29 October, 5 November.

Corporal Casey. Prepared by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, Volume VII, New York, 26 November, 3 December.

Bismark on the situation, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 29 November.

Movements of the Fall of 1863, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, Volume VII, New York, 3, 10, 17, 24, and 31 December.

All Quiet along the Rapidan, by Anchor, in the New York Citizen, 31 December.

1871

Major-General Andrew A. Humphreys at the head of the combined Second-Third Corps * * * by J. Watts de Peyster, 16 pages, octavo, Tobitt & Bunce, New York.

The Wilderness. Battles in 1864, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, 7 January.

A Retrospect and a Review. The Dismemberment and Dissolution of the Third Corps, by J. Watts de Peyster, in the New York Era, 9 January.

Grant's Campaign in the Wilderness, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, New York, 14, 21 and 28 January, and 4 February.

The End of the Empire, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 10 February.

Grant's Overland Campaign, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, New York, 11, 18 and 25 February.

Great Minds in Little Bodies, by Anchor, New York Evening Mail, 27 February.

The French in Switzerland, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 4 March.

The Investment of Petersburg, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, New York, 4 March, 2 September.

The Battle of Williamsburg, May 5, 1862, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, New York, 11 March.

An American in the German Service, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 29 March.

The Income Tax, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 1 April.

From Chancellorsville to Gettysburg, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, New York, 22 April.

A Military Memoir of William Mahone, Major-General in the Confederate Army, by J. Watts de Peyster, in the Historical Magazine, pages 12-33, July.

La Royale, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, New York, 9 September and subsequent issues.

A Military Record, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 16 December.

1872.

Leonard Torstenson. Eulogy. A Royal Utterance Crowned. A Prize Essay. Presented to the American Public by J. Watts de Peyster, 36 pages, small, octavo. Julius R. Huth, New York.

La Royale, by Anchor, in the Citizen and Round Table, New York, 9 September, 1871—23 March, 1872.

"Humpty Dumpty," by Anchor, in the New York Citizen, 13 January.

Bazaine's Treachery, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 16 January.

The Naiad Queen, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 28 February.

Strategic Mistakes of the Prussians, by Anchor, in the United States Army and Navy Journal, 23 March.

Review of Rossel's Art of War, by Anchor, in the Army and Naval Journal, 13 April.

Last of the Napoleons, by Anchor, in the Army and Naval Journal, 20 April.

A Magnificent Review, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 21 May.

General Meade, by Anchor, in the New York Daily Register, 25 November.

The Ring Trials, by De P., in the New York Daily Register, 26 November.

La Royale, Parts I-VI. The Grand Hunt of the Army of the Potomac on the 3-7 (A.M.) April, Petersburg to High Bridge, 70 pages, 1 portrait, 1 map, small, quarto.

La Royale, Part VIII. The Last Twenty-four Hours of the Army of Northern Virginia, iv, 48 pages, 1 portrait, 1 map, small quarto. J. R. Huth, New York.

1873

Our Cavalry Soldiers, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 17 and 22 January.

Immortality of the Soul, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 28 January.

Montreal, the Condottiere, by General de Peyster, in the New York Evening Mail, 18 February.

Leonard Torstenson, by General de Peyster, in the New York Evening Mail, March.

The Thirty Years' War, by General de Peyster, in the New York Evening Mail, 4 March.

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Alvizzi del Pino, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, Weekly Edition, 3 and 10 December.

"Astray," by Anchor (Theatrical Criticism), in the New York Evening Mail, 13 December.

1874

La Royale, Part VII. Cumberland Church, 7th April, 1865, xii, 150 pages, 1 portrait, 2 maps, small, quarto.

George H. Thomas, by General John Watts de Peyster, 545-576 pages, 1 portrait, quarto. Atlantic Publishing Company, New York.

General Robert McAllister, a sketch, by General John

Watts de Peyster, 503-512 pages, 1 portrait, quarto. Atlantic Publishing Company, New York.

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Michelet, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 19 February.

Johnston's Narrative of Confederate Operations, etc., by J. W. de P., in the New York Evening Mail, 13 April.

Our City Armories, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, June.

Count de Paris' History of our War. Review, by Anchor, in the Army and Navy Journal, 12 September.

The Sphinx, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 29 September.

Review of Bancroft's History of the United States, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 15 December.

1875

The Conflict between Religion and Science, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 4 January.

Major-General George H. Thomas, an address before the New York Historical Society, 5 January, 1875, by J. Watts de Peyster, 24 pages, small octavo. Atlantic Publishing Company, New York.

A Hero of the War, an address, by J. Watts de Peyster, in the New York Evening Mail, 6 January.

The Mohammedans, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 15 January.

The War Cloud, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 23 January.

Montenegro, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 26 January.

A Lifting of the War Cloud, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 2 February.

The Conflict of Science and Religion, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 8 February.

Monumental Christianity, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 15 February.

Our Terrible Winter, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 3 March.

Some Words of interest about Militia, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 4 March.

Funeral of Miss Ada E. Hancock, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 22 March.

Funeral of Miss Ada E. Hancock, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Post, 23 March.

Michael Angelo's Statue of "The Thinker," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 24 March.

The Callathumpians, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 8 April.

"Coup-de-Jarnae," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 13 April.

A Famous Militia Review in New York, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 19 April.

The Anniversary, an address before the Third Army Corps Union, 5 May, by Major General John Watts de Peyster, 36 pages, 1 portrait, quarto. Atlantic Publishing and Engraving Company, New York.

Third Army Corps Union (Speech), in the New York Evening Mail, 6 May.

A Remarkable Execution, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 14 May.

Germany and France, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 20 May.

Lee's Status as a General, by Anchor, in the United States Army and Navy Journal, 29 May.

Three Rivers, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 3, 4, and 7 June.

Morningside and Riverside Parks, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 6 June.

Ho! for the Pole! by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 19 and 21 June.

Sherman's Memoirs, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 29 June.

Actors, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 24 July.

The Old-New, by Anchor, 24 August.

Sherman and Thomas, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 5 October.

The Latin, or Roman, and the Teuton, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 11 October.

A Glimpse of Denmark, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 22 October.

English Opera at Booth's by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 26 October.

Weather Vagaries, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 6 November.

Glimpses of Sweden, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 8 and 11 November.

Ginbord, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 18 November.

William Fidden Blodgett, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 19 November.

Memoirs of Nettie Skye, by F., in the New York Weekly Mail, 24 November.

Winfield Scott Hancock, by Anchor, I; II, 26 November; III, 9 December, in the New York Evening Mail.

Duration of National Life, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 18 December.

A few Suggestions for a Constant Reader, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 27 December.

1876

The Battle of Nashville, an address before the New York Historical Society, by J. W. de Peyster, in the New York Evening Mail, 5 January.

The Battle of Nashville, conclusion of address before the New York Historical Society, by J. W. de Peyster, in the New York Evening Mail, 10 January.

The Eagle Theatre, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 17 January.

A Field Day on Fifth Avenue, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 24 January.

A Lesson for the Hour, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 31 January.

Julius Caesar, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 15 February.

The Statuary, "Under the Linden," Berlin, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 23 February.

American Soldiership, by Anchor, in the New York Herald, 26 February.

What a storm brought fifty years ago, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail.

The Greatest Hero of the World [Hannibal], by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 6 March.

A Dramatic Triumph, by Anchor, 21 March.

A Dramatic Triumph, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 23 March.

Perils of Fire, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 12 April.

The Keystone State, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 20 April.

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John Frederic Hartranft, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 26 April.

John Frederic Hartranft, by Anchor, in the Evening Telegraph, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, 1 May.

The Gilbert Elevated Road, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 10 May.

John Frederic Hartranft, by Major-General de Peyster (also signed Anchor), in the Chronicle and News, Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1, 2, and 3 June.

The Susquehannah Valley, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, correspondence dated 22 May, and 6 June.

John Frederic Hartranft, by Anchor, in the Lehigh Register, Allentown, Pennsylvania, 7 June.

Allentown, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 15 June.

The Lehigh Valley, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 17 June.

The Inimitable Vokes at the Union Square Theatre, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 26 June.

The Curse of Indian Rings, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 7 July.

Rosina Vokes at the Union Square Theatre, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 8 July.

Fire Island, by Anchor, Notes from the Seaside, 24 June; Fire Island, 27 June; A Life-giving Isle, 12 July; A Surf Hotel, 10 July; in the New York Evening Mail.

Servia, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 22 July.

The European Grab Game, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 27 July.

Jottings in Europe, in the New York Evening Mail, 23 August.

Sardanapalus, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 4 September.

An Assyrian Study, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 5 September.

Cazenovia, by Anchor, in the Cazenovia Republican, 7 September.

"Two Men of Sandy Bar," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 19 September.

A Welcome Arrival, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 25 September.

Yet Another Version of Sardanapalus, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 6 October.

A French View of Our Republic, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 7 November.

Night made Beautiful, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 8 November.

Miss Multon, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 24 November.

Arctic Exploration, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 26 December.

1877

Major General Philip Schuyler and the Burgoyne Campaign of 1777. Annual Address before the New York Historical Society, 2 January, by General John Watts de Peyster, 26 pages and an Appendix of 4 pages, octavo. Holt Bros., New York.

Burgoyne's Campaign. A Synopsis of an Address before the New York Historical Society, January 2, by General J. Watts de Peyster, in the New York Evening Mail, 3 January.

The United States and Canada, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 13 January.

Russia and Turkey, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 23 January.

Views of a Distinguished Officer, by Anchor, in the New York Times, 25 January.

The Turks, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 31 January.

A Set of Pigs, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 9 February.

Giorgione, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 12 February.

Les Danicheffs, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 17 February.

The Russians, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 6 March.

Mr. Coghlan's "Hamlet," in the New York Evening Mail, 12 March.

Mr. McCullough's "Gladiator," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 18 April.

Turkey and Montenegro, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 24 April.

McCullough as Virginius, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 27 April.

The Third Corps Union. A Speech, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 7 May.

Revolutionary Events. The Route of Burgoyne's Expedition from Canada toward Albany, 1777, by Anchor, in the New York Times, 14 May.

Fire Island. Correspondence, by Anchor, in the New York Times, 14 May.

The Jerseys, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 22 May.

"Amos Clark," at Booth's Theatre, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 23 May.

Smike, by Anchor, in New York Evening Mail, 30 May.

Valedictory. Read at the final Spring Meeting of the Hamersley Coterie, 8 June, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail.

Obituary, Honorable J. W. Beekman, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 18 June.

Seventeen-year Locusts, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 7 July.

The Mountains along the Hudson, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 14 August.

Oriskany. A poem, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 20 August.

Mr. Boucicault as a Logician, in the New York Evening Mail, 3 October.

The Revolutionary Year, 1777. Contents: Burgoyne's Capitulation, General Burgoyne's Campaign, Burgoyne in New York, Burgoyne and Schuyler, The Battle of Oriskany, The Battle of Bennington, The Battle of Brandywine, Burgoyne's Fatal Mistake, Clinton on the Hudson, The Victory at Saratoga, by Anchor, in the New York Times, 14 May and 7 October.

Holland in "The Crushed Tragedian," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 10 October.

The Williamsons in "Struck Oil," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 10 October.

"The Mother's Secret," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 3 December.

Mary Anderson, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 13 December.

The Revolutionary Year, 1777, by Anchor. Nineteen articles, in the New York Evening Mail, 12 April-13 December.

Salutatory. Read at the first Fall Meeting of the Hamersley Coterie, 23 November, by De Peyster, in the New York Evening Mail, 14 December.

1878

Oriskany, 6th August, 1777. The Decisive Collision of the American Revolution, by Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, 8 pages, small, octavo. A. S. Barnes & Company, New York.

"Man of Success," by de Peyster, in the New York Evening Mail, 2 January.

Richard III at Booth's, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 19 January.

Obituary. General Honorable Sir Edward Cust, Bart., in the New York Evening Mail, 2 February.

The Gorilla, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 5 February.

Who can be elected Pope, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 11 February.

The Barents Relics, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 12 February.

Uncle Tom's Cabin, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 20 February.

Pterodactylus Cuvien. "The Flying Dragon of Fact," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 9 March.

A Celebrated Case, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 14 March.

Review of Mrs. Lamb's History of New York, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 29 March.

New York and its History, by J. Watts de Peyster, in the International Review, Volume V, Number 2, pages 255-264, March and April.

A Dutch Roland for an English Oliver, in the New York Evening Mail, 18 April.

Revolutionary Affairs of the Spring of 1778, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 23 April.

The Bitter-Sweet of Life. Lines read at the Weekly Meeting at J. W. Hamersley's, 255 Fifth Avenue, New York, March 29, 1878, in the New York Evening Mail, 24 April.

Revolutionary Affairs of the Spring of 1778. II., by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 7 May.

Adieu for the Season. Read at the Meeting May 31, 1878, at 255 Fifth Avenue, New York, by Anchor.

The Battle of Monmouth, in the New York Herald, 28 June.

The Engagements at Freehold, known as the Battle of Monmouth, New Jersey, * * * 28th June, 1778, by John Watts de Peyster. Reprint from the Magazine of Ameri-

can History, July, 7 pages, small, octavo. A. S. Barnes & Company, New York.

Lee at Monmouth, by J. W. de P., in the New York World, 1 July.

One Hundred Years Ago, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 29 July.

The American Revolution from a French Point of View, by J. Watts de Peyster, translator of Michelet, in the Messenger, Glens Falls, New York, 2 August.

Newport, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 9 August.

Consideration of the Case of Major-General Charles Lee at Monmouth, June 28, 1778, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the Monmouth Democrat, Freehold, New Jersey, 15 August.

Newport, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 22 August.

Yellow Fever, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 27 August.

Newport, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 29 August.

Kentucky, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 12 September.

Theatrical Notice, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 26 September.

The Hackensack River, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 2 October.

"Henry VIII," at Booth's, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 9 October.

Little Egg Harbor, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 14 October.

"Mother and Son," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 23 October.

Deeds of our Past, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 8 November.

Old New York, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 13 November.

The Affair of Freehold, by Anchor, in the Monmouth Democrat, Freehold, 17 October, 7 and 21 November.

The South, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 22 November.

Gratulari Adventum! Welcome Home! by Anchor. Delivered 6 December, at opening of "Noctes Atticae." New York Evening Mail.

Savannah, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 11 December.

Siege of Phillipsbourg, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 19 December.

A Hundred Years Ago To-day. The Battle of Savannah, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Times, 29 December.

Merv or Meru, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 30 December.

1879

Poem on the Battle of Oriskany, by General J. Watts de Peyster. Weed, Parsons & Company, Albany.

Ode on Schuylerville, by General J. Watts de Peyster. Weed, Parsons & Company, Albany.

Fixedness of Purpose, by John Watts de Peyster. A. L. Bancroft & Company, San Francisco, California.

Merv or Meru, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 24 January.

Dr. Clyde at the Fifth Avenue, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 27 January.

Obituary. Mrs. Helen Sarah Hooker, in the New York Evening Mail, 3 February.

H. M. S. Pinafore at the Lyceum, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 13 February.

"Pinafore," at the Fifth Avenue, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 14 February.

New York State's Indians, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Times, 23 February.

An Anniversary, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 25 February.

Mr. Paulding as Hamlet, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 26 February.

Theatrical Notice, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 3 March.

The New Rebellion, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 8 March.

"Thro' the Dark," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 17 March.

"Lost Children" at the Union Square, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 22 April.

"Fatinitza," at the Fifth Avenue, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 7 May.

Rear Admiral Godon, by Anchor, in the New York Mail, 28 May.

Will, by Anchor, the New York Evening Mail, 28 May.

Valedictory. Before closing of Hamersley's "Noctes Atticae," June 6, 1879, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 7 June.

The Battle of Janikan or Jankswitz, 24th February, O. S., 6th March, N. S., 1645, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service Journal, Volume 1, Number 3, pages 383-401, July.

Sir John Johnson's Life, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Times, 13 July.

Stony Point, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 15 July.

Wayne's Capture of Stony Point, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the Monmouth Inquirer, Freehold, New Jersey, 24 July.

Fire Island, by Anchor, 8 August.

Castine, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 11 and 13 August.

Jersey City, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 18 August.

Wyoming, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 26 August.

Elmira, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Mail, 29 August.

John William Hamersley. Tribute, by Major-General John Watts de Peyster, in the Magazine of American History, September.

Genesee, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 15 September.

Judaism at Rome, B. C. 76 to A. D. 140, by Anchor, 18 September.

Savannah, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 24 September.

Washington Irving on Stony Point, by Anchor, in the Monmouth Inquirer, Freehold, New Jersey, 25 September.

"Our Daughters," at Haverly's, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 25 September.

Savannah, II, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 3 October.

Savannah, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 9 October.

A Review of "Les Locataire," at the Union Square Theatre, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 25 October.

Christianity and Philosophy, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 27 October.

Salutatory. Read at the First Fall Meeting at Hamersley's, by Anchor, November, in the New York Evening Mail.

"Fighting Joe," by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 3 November.

General Joe Hooker, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 4 November.

The Harvest Moon, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 4 November.

A House with a History, by Tiger Lily, in the New York Evening Mail, 13 November.

Abd-el-Kader, "The Modern Jugurtha," by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 15 November.

The Galley Slave, at Haverly's, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 3 and 18 December.

Ancient and Mediaeval Republics, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 27 December.

1880

Sketches of Officers of the Third Army Corps, by John

Watts de Peyster, 8 pages, duodecimo. C. G. Burgoyne, New York.

General H. Edwin Tremain. Reprint from Sketches of Officers of the Third Army Corps, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), 8 pages, duodecimo. C. G. Burgoyne, New York.

Proofs considered in Vindication of Sir John Johnson. Speech before the Historical Society, by General de Peyster, January.

Sir John Johnson, the first American-born Baronet. An address before the New York Historical Society, by Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, 12 pages, octavo, 6 January.

A Defence of a New York Baronet. The Historical Society, in the New York Evening Mail, 7 January.

The Tourists in a Pullman Palace Car, at Haverly's, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 10 January.

The Pullman Palace Car Tourists, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail (Weekly Edition), 14 January.

"The False Friend," at the Union Square Theatre, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 24 and 29 January.

Joshua's Relief of Gideon and the Battle of Beth-Horon by J. Watts de Peyster, in The United Service, pages 211-219, February.

Salsbury's Troubadours, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 24 February.

The Fabian System * * * An Idea from a Veteran General Officer of the United States Army, in the New York Evening Mail, 26 February.

Post-prandial remarks of General de Peyster, on his Fifteenth Commemorative Dinner, 9 March, New York Evening Mail.

Washington, by a Veteran General Officer of the United States Army, in the New York Evening Mail, 9 March.

Pensez-a-moi. A poem, by Viola Tricolor, in the New York Evening Mail, 19 March.

Penser-a-toi. In answer to Viola Tricolor, by Yoland, in the New York Evening Mail.

"Widow Bedott," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 22 March, 14 April.

"A Child of the State," at Wallack's by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 26 April.

"Boccaccio," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 24 May.

Herrman at Haverly's, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 26 May.

Valedictory, First Spring Meeting at Hamersley's, by Anchor, 4 June, in the New York Evening Mail.

Hannibal, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, pages 55-76, July.

Gustavus Adolphus, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, pages 257-277, September.

The Affair at King's Mountain, 7th October, 1780, by John Watts de Peyster. Reprint from the Magazine of American History, December.

Cavalry, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, June, November and December.

The Affair at King's Mountain, 7th October, 1780, by J. Watts de Peyster, in the Magazine of American History, pages 402-424. December.

Salutatory. Read at the Opening, December 17, 1880, of Winter Session of "Noctes Atticae," by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 20 December.

Centennial Sketches for 1880, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 2 January-28 December.

King's Mountain, by Anchor, in the New York Herald, 30 December.

1881

Local Memorials relating to the De Peyster and Watts and Affiliated Families Connected with Red Hook, New York, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), 80 pages, octavo. C. H. Ludwig, New York.

Obituaries of Major-General Samuel P. Heintzelman and Major-General Joseph Hooker * * * by J. Watts de Peyster * * * (Anchor), 40 pages, duodecimo. C. H. Ludwig, New York.

The Johnson Family, in the New York Evening Mail, 24 January.

Army Catastrophes, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, pages 233-245. February.

Hannibal's Army of Italy, B. C., 218, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, pages 289-309, March.

Carnival at Rome, by A., in the New York Evening Mail (Weekly Edition), 24 March.

Valedictory. Read at the Last Spring Meeting at Hamersley's, April 22, 1881, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, 25 April.

The Last Campaign of Hannibal, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, pages 534-554, May.

Infantry, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, June, pages 647-665, August, pages 219-246.

The Battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8, 1781, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, pages 310-341, September.

Mary Queen of Scots, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 29 September.

Dutchess to Saratoga, II, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail, 12 October.

Centennial Sketches for 1881, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail, Weekly Edition, 7 July-3 November.

Mary Queen of Scots, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail and Express, 8, 15, 29 December.

1882

A Vindication of James Hepburn, Fourth Earl of Bothwell, by J. Watts de Peyster (Anchor), 60 pages, 1 portrait, octavo. L. R. Hamersly & Company, Philadelphia.

Mary Queen of Scots. A Study, by Anchor, 144 pages, octavo. Charles H. Ludwig, New York.

Sir John Johnson. Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson during the Oriskany Campaign, 1776-1777. Annotated by William L. Stone * * * With an Introduction by J. Watts de Peyster, Anchor * * * and some Tracings from the Footprints of the Tories or Loyalists in

America, by Theoforus B. Meyers, 273 pages. J. Munsell's Sons, Albany, New York.

Threnody James Robb, read at the Inauguration at Hamersley's, 6 January, in the New York Evening Mail.

Salutatory. At Inauguration of "Noctes Atticae," by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the New York Evening Mail and Express, 12 January.

Infantry, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, April, pages 439-449, May, pages 533-552.

The Campaign of Waterloo, Tuesday, 13th June—Sunday, 18th June, 1815, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, pages 34-39, July.

James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, Third Husband of Mary Queen of Scots, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, September, pages 311-336, October, pages 404-437.

1883

Suwarrow, by J. Watts de Peyster. Reprint from The United Service, 61 pages, octavo. L. R. Hamersley & Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

An Inquiry into the Career and Character of Mary Stuart * * * and a Justification of Bothwell, by J. Watts de Peyster, 260 pages, octavo. Charles H. Ludwig, New York.

An Address delivered before the Historical Society of New Brunswick, in St. John, Canada, 4th July, 1883, by General John Watts de Peyster, 40 pages, octavo. Charles H. Ludwig, New York.

The Burgoyne Campaign, July-October, 1777, by J. Watts de Peyster. Reprint from the United Service, October, 1883, 17 pages, octavo. L. R. Hamersley & Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

From the Rapidan to the Appomattox Court House, by J. Watts de Peyster. Reprint from The United Service, July, 6 pages, octavo. R. L. Hamersley & Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

From the Rapidan to the Appomattox Court House, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, pages 91-96, July.

Who Burgoyned Burgoyne, by Anchor (J. W. de P.),

Reprint from Daily Journal, Saratoga Springs, New York, 30 August, 2-7 pages, octavo.

1884

The Thirty Years' War, by J. Watts de Peyster. Reprint from United Service, 93 pages, octavo. L. R. Hamersley, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Bothwell: An Historical Drama, by John Watts de Peyster, 96 pages, octavo. Charles H. Ludwig, New York.

Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, March, pages 254-293.

A Scientific Soldier, by Anchor, in the New York Evening Mail and Express, 13 March.

The Third Army Corps Union. An Address delivered at a Meeting in New York City, May 5, 1884, by J. Watts de Peyster, 8 pages, octavo.

The Condottieri of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, October, pages 406-439.

The Thirty Years' War. With Special Reference to the Military Operations of the Swedes, by J. Watts de Peyster, in United Service, November, pages 457-494, December, pages 629-681.

1885

Gypsies. Information translated and gathered from various sources, by J. Watts de Peyster, 32 pages, octavo. Charles H. Ludwig & Company, New York.

Sailors' Creek to Appomattox Court House, 7th, 8th, 9th April, 1865; or The Last Hours of Sheridan's Cavalry. War Memoranda of Henry E. Tremain. Edited, with notes, etc., by J. Watts de Peyster, 75 pages, 1 portrait, 1 map, octavo. Charles H. Ludwig, New York.

Literature of the Thirty Years' War, by J. Watts de Peyster. Reprint from Army and Navy Quarterly, October, 422-459 pages, octavo. L. R. Hamersley & Company, Philadelphia.

Army Administrative Service, by J. Watts de Peyster.

Reprint from *United Service*, January, 91-109 pages, octavo.

Thirty Years' War, with Special Reference to the Military Operations of the Swedes, by J. Watts de Peyster, in *United Service*, February, pages 208-225, May, pages 567-583.

Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, by J. Watts de Peyster, in *United Service*, April, 455-462 pages, octavo.

Major-General Gershan Mott, by J. W. de P., in the *New York Evening Mail and Express*, 21 May.

Torstenson before Vienna. A Translation with notes, by J. Watts de Peyster, 68 pages, octavo. Charles H. Ludwig, New York, June.

History of the Life of Leonard Torstenson, by J. Watts de Peyster, 284 pages, octavo. Platt & Schram, Poughkeepsie, New York, 25 July.

Major-General Gershan Mott, U. S. V., and the Third Army Corps of the Potomac, by J. Watts de Peyster, in *United Service*, pages 152-167, August.

Suwarrow, by J. Watts de Peyster, in *United Service*, November, pages 510-535, December, pages 589-621.

1886

Andrew Atkinson Humphreys of Pennsylvania, Brigadier-General, U. S. A., by Brevet Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, in the *Intelligencer*, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 21 pages, octavo.

Obituary Notice. Major-General Winfield Scott Hancock, U. S. A., from *United Service*, February, by J. Watts de Peyster, octavo.

Anthony Wayne (Prominent Men of the Revolutionary Period), by J. Watts de Peyster, from *Magazine of American History*, February, 127-143, octavo.

Anthony Wayne, Third General-in-Chief of the United States Army. Reprint from *United Service*, March, by J. Watts de Peyster, 34 pages, octavo.

The Third Corps and Sickles at Gettysburg. Address before the Third Army Corps Union, at New York, 5 May, 20 pages, octavo.

In Memory of Gambler (Gam). Died Thursday, 23d

September, 1886, at Rose Hill, New York * * * and lies there buried royally for a dog, by Anchor, octavo.

Nothing Succeeds like Success, by Anchor, in the Weekly Journal, 23 September.

Andrew Atkinson Humphreys (Prominent Men of the Civil War Period), by J. Watts de Peyster, in the Magazine of American History, pages 347-369, October.

Major-General Anthony Wayne, by Brevet Major-General J. Watts de Peyster. Reprint from College Student, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, October, 8 pages, octavo. Steinman & Hensel, Lancaster.

Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, by J. Watts de Peyster, in the College Student, pages 21-28, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, November.

1887

Before, At, and After Gettysburg, by J. Watts de Peyster, 56 pages, octavo. Charles H. Ludwig, New York.

Gypsies: Some Curious Investigations collected, translated, or reprinted, by J. Watts de Peyster. Reprinted by special permission, 61 pages, duodecimo. E. & G. Goldsmith, Edinburgh.

Prussia: Its Position and Destiny. By N. H. Loring, with Introduction, etc., by Brevet Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, 32 pages, octavo. A. E. Chasmar & Company, New York.

Michael Angelo's Statue of "The Thinker" (Il Penseroso), by Anchor (J. W. de P.). Reprint from the College Student, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, February, 81-86 pages, octavo.

Buddha, or Gotama, or Sankia Mouni, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), reprint from the College Student, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, March, 104-107 pages, octavo.

Michael Angelo and the Tombs of the Medici, by Anchor (J. W. de P.). Reprint from the College Student, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, April, 121-124 pages, octavo.

The Last Ten Days' Service of the Old Third Corps * * * with the Army of the Potomac. Address deliv-

ered at the Anniversary Dinner in New York, 5 May, by J. Watts de Peyster, 16 pages, octavo.

The Third Corps. Its Last Ten Days of Service, by Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, in the National Tribune, Washington, D. C., 28 July, 11 August.

An Address delivered to the One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Regiment, New York Volunteers, at Hudson, Columbia County, New York, 6th September, 1887, on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Departure of that Regiment for the War, by Brevet Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, 4 pages, octavo.

Address to the Veterans of the One Hundred and Twenty-eighth New York Volunteer Infantry, by General de Peyster. Read by Colonel Johnston L. de Peyster, in the Columbia Republican, Hudson, New York, 8 September.

No Royal Road to Learning, by J. W. de P. A letter to the New York World, 2 October.

Was the Shakespeare, after all, a Myth? By J. W. de P., in the Red Hook Journal, Red Hook, New York, 14 October.

1888

Was the Shakespeare after all a Myth? By J. Watts de Peyster, 32 pages, octavo, A. E. Chasmar & Company, New York.

Miscellanies by an Officer, Arent Schuyler de Peyster, 1813, C. Munro, Dumfries, edited by J. Watts de Peyster, 80 pages, octavo. A. E. Chasmar & Company, New York.

Appendix to "Miscellanies by an Officer, * * *," by J. Watts de Peyster, 6 pages, octavo. C. H. Ludwig, New York.

Religious Aspects of the Thirty Years' War. Reprint from College Student, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, February, March, 26 pages, octavo.

Religious Aspects of the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648, by J. Watts de Peyster, in College Student, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, February, pages 81-89, March, pages 109-116, April, pages 136-145.

An Ideal Soldier, by Major-General J. Watts de Peyster, in the National Tribune, Washington, D. C., 19 July.

The Peace of Westphalia. Supplement to article "Religious Aspects of the Thirty Years' War," by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the College Student, Lancaster, Pennsylvania., November, pages 23-26.

1889

Wallenstein, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in College Student, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, February, pages 83-88.

De Peyster Portrait of Washington, by J. Watts de Peyster, in Magazine of American History, April, page 296.

John W. Hamersley, by J. W. de Peyster, in Magazine of American History, September, pages 224-228.

Miracles of the Passage of the Red Sea and of the Sun and Moon standing still, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the Episcopal Recorder, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 17 October.

"Hail Storms," by Anchor, in the Red Hook Journal, Red Hook, New York, 15 November.

1890

Mary Stuart, Bothwell, and the Casket Letters. Something New. With illustrations. * * * by J. Watts de Peyster, 40 pages, octavo. Charles H. Ludwig, New York.

A Notable Hail-storm, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the Episcopal Recorder, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 22 May.

The Sun standing still at the bidding of Joshua, by Anchor (J. W. de P.) in the Episcopal Recorder, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19 June.

Antiquity of the Art of Writing, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the Red Hook Journal, Red Hook, New York, 25 July.

What is the truth? By Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the Episcopal Recorder, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 7 August.

1891

Ridiculous Falsity of Roman Catholic Tradition, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the Episcopal Recorder, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19 February.

Sabellianism, by Anchor (J. W. de P.), in the Episcopal Recorder, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 21 May.

A Drive of Seventy-one Miles Through Central Dutchess County, by Anchor, in the Red Hook Journal, Red Hook, New York, 13 July.

Another Drive of over One Hundred Miles through Northeastern and Eastern and Central Dutchess County, by Anchor, in the Red Hook Journal, Red Hook, New York, 17 July.

A Third Trip of about Eighty Miles through Dutchess County, by New and Different Routes, by Anchor, in Red Hook Journal, Red Hook, New York, 28 August.

Hail, by Anchor, in the Episcopal Recorder, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 17 December.

1892

The Genuine Letters of Mary Queen of Scots to James, Earl of Bothwell, translated from the French by Edward Simonds, second edition, Westminster: A Campbell, 1726, edited and arranged with Introduction by J. Watts de Peyster, 24 pages, octavo.

Eulogy of Torstenson, by J. Watts de Peyster, with Appendix and Notes, 13 pages, 1 map, small octavo.

1893

Waterloo: The Campaign and Battle, by J. Watts de Peyster.

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1894

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The Niebelungen Lied, by J. W. de J., 4 pages, quarto.
State Sovereignty, by J. Watts de Peyster (Anchor), 8 pages, octavo (written in 1861).

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Henry V. at Booth's, Conscience. These articles were preserved in General de Peyster's scrap books, but in most cases without a clear reference to the dates of the newspapers in which they appeared. This list is probably very incomplete.

DEGREES AND OTHER HONORS

In 1870 General de Peyster was made a Doctor of Law by Nebraska College for "Distinguished Literary Merits." In 1872 Columbia University conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts. He received from Franklin and Marshall College the degree of Master of Letters in 1892, and that of Doctor of Law in 1896.

In 1882 he succeeded his father as honorary vice-president of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia. He was a director of the New York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, patron of the Association for the Benefit of Colored Orphans, patron of the New York Dispensary, a life director of the American Tract Society, and life member of the American Bible Society. From 1864 to 1880 he was a director of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, an honorary member of the Third Army Corps Gettysburg Battlefield Reunion, member of its Honorary Committee, and first honorary member of the Third Army Corps (Army of the Potomac) Union. He was vice-president of the Saratoga (Battlefield) Monument Association, hereditary member of the Military Society of the War of 1812, honorary life member of the Toledo Soldiers' Memorial Association, honorary member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, honorary member for life of the American Rifle Association, associate member of the Military Institution of the United States, and a member of the Military Association of the State of New York.

He was a life member of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain, an honorary member or fellow of the London Society of Science, Letters and Art, and the recipient of its gold medal for 1894, conferred for

"Scientific and Literary Attainments," an honorary member of the Clarendon Historical Society of Edinburgh, Scotland, and a member of the Maatschappij Nederlandsche Letterkunde, of Leyden, Holland. He was an honorary member of the New Brunswick Historical Society, at St. John, and of the United Empire Loyal Association. He was corresponding member of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society.

In the United States his membership in historical and literary societies was extensive. He was a life member of the St. Nicholas Club, of New York City, of the Numismatic and Archaeological Society of New York, the Huguenot Society of America, the Palestine Exploration Fund, the American Geographical Society, the New York Gallery of Fine Arts, the State Historical Society of Michigan, and the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. He was an honorary member of the New York Burns Club, the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society, the New Jersey Historical Society, the Minnesota State Historical Society, the Holland Society of New York, the American Historical Association of the United States, and the Lyceum Society of Cazenovia, New York. He was a corresponding member of the Historical Societies of Maine, Vermont, Rhode Island (Newport), Connecticut, Wisconsin, Long Island, and Virginia, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Historical Society of Buffalo, and that of Oneida County, New York. He also was a member of the New York, Montana, Northern Indiana, and Lancaster County (Pennsylvania) Historical Societies, and of the Century and Union League Clubs of New York. He was an honorary member of many societies connected with institutions of learning, notably the Phrenokosmian Society of Pennsylvania College, the Philosophian Society of the Missionary Institute, the Euterpean Society of Muhlenberg College, the Gasman Literary and Philologian Society of Nebraska College, the Diagnothean Literary Society of Franklin and Marshall College, and the Philosophian Society, of Cowan,

Pennsylvania. He was a life member of the Alumni Society of Columbia University.

The Third Army Corps Union, composed of officers of the Third Corps of the Army of the Potomac, and one of the most exclusive military societies of the war, paid General de Peyster the high honor of making him its First Honorary Member, and presented him with a gold medal. The action of its Board of Directors in this connection was communicated to General de Peyster, 12 July, 1870, by General George H. Sharpe.

"At the regular annual meeting of the Third Army Corps Union, held at Boston, in May last," wrote General Sharpe, "the Board of Directors was instructed to prepare and present to you a gold medal of the value of five hundred dollars, as a testimonial of the appreciation by the Corps of your eminent services in placing upon record the true history of its achievements.

"We are aware that the value of all wars is greatly heightened by the accuracy of the records and monuments left behind them, and that many injustices become permanent when a critical and competent hand is not within reach to repair the wrongs of misstatements and misrepresentation.

"We recognize in you one prepared in head and heart to render such services to us and to what we modestly but courageously hope will be our true history; and while you were connected with us by family membership and by the best blood that was shed from our ranks, we desire to attest our recognition of a work which none else was found to do and which has fixed a high companionship to endure with the memory of the Third Corps and its commanders.

"We now complete our duty by presenting to you the material evidence of our estimation. You receive it from men chary of their gifts, and we trust that the date of its acceptance may be ever marked with white on the calendar of your family."

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